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GEZO, KING OF DAHOMEY.

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DAHOMEY

AND

THE DAHOMANS:

BEING

THE JOURNALS OF

TWO MISSIONS TO THE KING OF DAHOMEY,

AND RESIDENCE AT HIS CAPITAL,

IN THE YEARS 1849 AND 1850.

BY FREDERICK E. FORBES,

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"FIVE YEARS IN CHINA," AND "SIX MONTHS IN THE AFRICAN BLOCKADE;"

DISCOVERER OF THE VAHIE PHONETIC, ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

While conversing one evening, on board Her Majesty's ship Cyclops, with the Hon. Captain Hastings, he remarked that great benefit might accrue from the visit of a naval officer to the King of Dahomey, at a time when the death of that king's chief agent and principal merchant, Da Souza, left him more at liberty to exercise his humanity, and to listen to the oft repeated appeal to suppress the slave trade in his dominions. Having long had a desire to visit the interior kingdoms of Africa, and to witness the effects of the slave trade in the countries of its sources, I instantly volunteered my services. But Captain Hastings, although senior officer and himself the proposer, did not feel justified in despatching me without the permission of

the Commander-in-chief, whose pendant he was about to join.

The Commander-in-chief received the offer of my services, and at the same time a request from Mr. Duncan, the newly appointed Vice-Consul, that a naval officer should accompany him to the Court of Dahomey, and was pleased to confer on me the honour of the mission.

A great deal has been written on the state of the slave trade on the coast and at sea, together with the fate of the slaves in the Brazils. It is the object of the author, in giving publicity to the following Journals, to illustrate the dreadful slave hunts and ravages, the annihilations and exterminations, consequent on this trade ; and to bring prominently before the British public the sacred service they are rendering their fellow-men, in prosecuting their increasing efforts to allay those fearful horrors.

I had been often a day or two journeying into various parts of the interior of Africa,

and had seen the state of the slave trade in its advanced systematic stage, and had considered the horrors of that division of it disgusting enough. I have visited baracoons, and seen men so fearfully attenuated, from want and over-exercise in the march to the coast, as to render nature unable to support the frame. I have seen the hold of a slave ship, and the horrors consequent on diseases arising from the crowded state and want of wholesome food to alleviate the cravings of hunger and thirst. I have seen the slave toiling in South America, and known that the labour of these was a matter of calculation to the master, whether, by continual toil and short life, he would gain more money than by light work and protracted miserable existence. But what are all these to the tragic scenes that introduce the slaves to slavery? A country living in peace with all around, and pursuing trade in the endeavour to become rich, is suddenly surrounded by

a ruthless banditti; and how changed the scene! The old would be rejected if brought to market, they are sacrificed; the whole nation are transported, exterminated, their name to be forgotten, except in the annual festival of their conquerors, when sycophants call the names of vanquished countries to the remembrance of the victors.

This state of society will last as long as the slave trade exists. The question that should be asked is: Is it in the power of this country to stop it? I will not confine myself to opinions, but relate facts.

For six months in the year 1848, between the colony of Sierra Leone and Liberia, in Her Majesty's ship Bonetta, under my command, I captured six slavers. There were then four cruisers on that station, and two of which captured each two, and the third one slave ship, in the same space of time. This proved that the state of the slave trade there must at that time have been very brisk. Diogenes, in his search for an

honest man, had a better chance of success than a cruiser has of a slaver there now. The trade is destroyed, and the people have receded from their evil habits and become industrious. This portion completes a long line of coast now open only to legal trade; and, if joined by the part of which these Journals treat, would embrace the whole of the continent of Africa, to the northward of the line. It is only a portion of the coast to the southward that requires blockading now; and the effect of the squadron at present employed, if the trade in the Bights could be checked, would be fourfold on that portion of coast to be guarded. Let the government fit out a decked boat for each cruiser; let her be a fast sailer, manned, rigged, and in every way armed and equipped by the cruisers, and the effect of the squadron is again double.* Many

* This opinion was written before the author had had an opportunity of hearing the purport of Captain Dunlop's evidence before a committee of the House of Lords.

of the cruisers could well equip and man two of these launches, and so line the coast that no ingress or egress could take place unknown.

I do not blame those who think the squadron increases the horrors. It is a natural conclusion, and one I myself arrived at, until I had witnessed the true source of the evils complained of. Then I saw that if the squadron were withdrawn, the slave hunts and exterminations would be increased. The inhabitants of a vast extent of coast have been led to give up the slave trade, and why? because they have been taught the immense increase of the value of the palm-oil trade over that in slaves. In all the countries which have given up the traffic in their fellow-men, the preaching of the Gospel and the spread of education have most materially assisted the effects of the coercive measures of our squadron. There are kings in the Camaroons and Bonny rivers, whose ledgers, kept

by themselves, would grace any counting-house in this country; and whose minds, expanded by education, have made them bold enough to declare that the old superstition of the Eboe should no longer exist, setting the example of becoming Christians. When the slave trade is checked, other trade should be substituted, or it will soon revive. To insure success, education should be first planted, and then trade introduced: thus, becoming enlightened, the African would sicken at the horrors he has hitherto encouraged.

Dr. Johnson said it was possible, though not probable, that amazons had existed. The amazons spoken of in these Journals are not deprived, like the ancient female warriors, of their left breast, but are perfect women. They live in chastity, nominally as wives of the king's old soldiers; or, for distinction in bravery, are given in marriage by the king to his favoured subjects.

In a barbarous country like Dahomey, it

is curious to find that the dynasty has lasted two centuries. Many of their customs are strangely at variance with the horrors of others. The forms and ceremonies of polite society contrast oddly with the sacrifices of their unoffending prisoners of war. The faithfulness of memory displayed by the troubadours and the high officers proves the Dahomans to be capable of receiving education. Let it be hoped that before long this nation may be added to the many in Africa that prefer the labour to the sacrifice and sale of the subject: the former in the vain attempt to propitiate an offended all powerful, Being; the latter to enrich, at the expense of their own, a foreign and distant, and, alas! Christian, land.

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DAHOMEY AND THE DAHOMANS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

DAHOMEY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.

As the king of the slave trade and its merchants, the Dahoman monarch has become a word of common use; whilst the position of his kingdom, and the habits, manners, and customs of his people, equally with the resources of its sovereign, are incorrectly, if at all, known. Lying inland on the Guinea coast, this great military kingdom extends almost from the banks of the Niger to those of the Volta, and domineers

over, if it does not possess, the entire land that lies between the coast thus cut off between the mouths of these rivers and the bases of the Kong Mountains. Until after the commencement of the last century, the very name of Dahomey was unknown in Europe, and the earliest account that we possess of its people and their power does not date back beyond that era.

Early maps of Dahomey.

There have been some geographers who have persuaded themselves, that in the Dauna of Leo Africanus was to be recognised the Dahomey of our own day. But though the Venetian map of Sanutus as early as 1588 placed that name with apparent certainty, and was followed by Dr. Hailey in his edition of Sir Jonas Moore's Mathematics nearly a century afterwards, we now know for certain that the kingdom thus marked on their maps is occupied by nations differing in name, in race, and in manners, from the Dahoman people. The earliest intercourse between the Dahomans and Europeans, as at present known, dates from the year 1724, when the then king of

Dahomey overrun the kingdom of Ardrah, that lay between his capital and the sea-coast, and seized in its chief town a European factor. This European captive, and agent for the English African Company, Mr. Bulfinch Lamb, though carried captive to Abomey, was well and kindly treated by the dark monarch, and so far allowed his liberty, as to be permitted to correspond with his superior, the commandant of the English fort at Whydah. It is in a letter from Mr. Lamb to the English commandant that we obtain the earliest sketch of this little known people; and so curious is this early description, and yet so truthful to the present habits and manners of the people, that it has been deemed advisable to reprint it in the Appendix. It is more than curious to note how little this military despotism has changed in two centuries and a half, notwithstanding all the progress that has been made on the African coast by European enterprise and intelligence.*

* Letter from Mr. Bulfinch Lamb to Mr. Tucker,

Early history of Dahomey.

The narrative commenced by Mr. Lamb is carried on in separate works by Captains Smith and Snelgrave until the time when the imprudence of the English commandant at Whydah brought on a second and third invasion of the coast countries by the king, and ended in the death of the governor, and the temporary destruction of the Dutch, English, French, and Portuguese forts at the town of Jaquin. This was in 1732, the year in which the king, called generally Guadja Trudo, died, and was succeeded by his son, Bossa Ahadee. Of this miserable tyrant, the history was written by one who had been engaged for eighteen years in the African trade, and completed in the more perfect work of Governor Dalziel, the governor of Cape Coast Castle. The latter work, besides including and continuing Mr. Norris's ac-

governor of the English fort at Whydah, at the end of "New Voyage to Guinea," by William Smith, Esq. London, 1745. Full Account of some Part of Guinea, by Captain William Snelgrave. London, 1734. See Appendix (A).

count of Ahadee's reign, carried down the Dahoman annals to the time of the son and grandson of that detestable savage.* From this period the history was briefly sketched by Dr. M'Leod, and continued to the reign of the younger son of Weenohoo, the grandson of Ahadee, who had succeeded to the throne in preference to his elder brother, whose deformity in one foot was deemed a sufficient, or at least was set up as the, reason for his being rejected as his father's successor to the throne. Thus has the history of this important and deeply interesting nation been brought down to the commencement of the present century, when it is found under a new sovereign, but unchanged in manners and habits, though greatly enlarged in its power

* Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahadee; with an Account of a Journey to Abomey in 1772, by Mr. Robert Norris. London, 1789. History of Dahomey, compiled from authentic sources, by Archibald Dalziel, Esq., Governor of Cape Coast Castle. 4to. London, 1793. A Voyage to Africa; with some Account of the Manners and Customs of the Dahomian People, by John M'Leod, M.D. London, 1820.

and its territories, and in daily intercourse with, and even dependant on, Europeans, for its prosperity and its revenues. The rise of the military kingdom of Dahomey dates from the commencement of the seventeenth century. At that period, when Tah-coo-doo-noo, chief of Fohee, captured the present capital, the united provinces of Dahomey and Fohee formed a kingdom scarcely more extensive than the county of Rutland. From this central state, lying equidistant from the banks of the Volta and the Niger, has extended the now military and most powerful monarchy in Western Africa. On every side, conquest has increased its territories, as each successive annual slave-hunt has annexed some one or other of the neighbouring states, which it depopulated in its merciless progress. Had it not been for this system of depopulation, the conquering nation could with difficulty have governed the extensive territories which each annual slave-hunt added to their kingdom. Revenue from the sale of prisoners is the primary object of these

expeditions, and the addition of wasted countries the necessary, but far from coveted, consequence.

Dahoman conquests.

Although, for two centuries at least, Dahomey has been a military nation, it was not until the usurpation of the present monarch, consequent on the unmilitary character of his deposed brother, that she rose to her present height, as the dreaded oppressor of neighbouring nations. Indeed, in the reigns of the later monarchs, the border states of Eyeo, Anagoo, and Mahee often defied the Dahomans with success; but now, should a neighbouring people become rich, it is regarded as sufficient insult to call forth an immediate declaration of war from the court of Dahomey. Thus is it that, on the northern and north-eastern borders, the Eyeos and the Anagoos have been almost entirely subjugated, and the country overrun to the foot of that natural and impassable boundary offered by the lofty summits of the Kong Mountains. On the western and north-western side, the stream of the Volta alone sepa-

rates Dahomey from its great rival monarchy of Western Africa, the kingdom of Ashantee. Time alone can develope the consequences to Africa of such powerful and ambitious nations being divided by no more difficult boundary than the far from wide or impassable waters of the Volta. Already on that side the Attahpahms and Ahjabee have been defeated although not annexed to the rapidly increasing territory of Dahomey.

Abeah-Keutah, Lagos, and Benin.

If we turn to the East, we find the extensive provinces of Yorihbah looked upon with cupidity, and marked out for devastation, slavery, and murder; whilst already the populous city of Abeah-Keutah, the abiding place of many hundreds of Christians, and the seat of missionary enterprise in the Bight of Benin, is marked out as the scene of the approaching slave-hunt. The fall of this noble and nearly Christian city demands our deepest attention. Standing on a river, which reaches the sea at Lagos, through the Lagoons, it would, were Lagos open to legal trade, soon become

the central emporium of commerce from Yorihbah, Bornou, and all the other countries neighbouring on the banks of the Niger. Lagos itself is a most important position as a trading port from its connection with all the countries of Guinea. It is at present notorious as one of the greatest slave depôts in Africa, and for many reasons likely to remain so. The king of Lagos was a slave himself, and, as an usurper, is entirely in the hands of his patrons, the slave merchants who placed him on the throne. On the west side the Lagoons may be said to join the Volta, although in the dry season, at a little distance from the town of Godomey (fifteen miles from Whydah), a sandy neck divides the Lagoons of Lagos and Whydah. Emptying into these Lagoons are several navigable rivers, as yet but imperfectly known, except to slave enterprise; whilst, on the east, the Joh creeks, navigated by a water population, called the Joh pirates, connect Lagos with the Benin, and the whole delta of the Niger. The importance of putting a stop

to the slave trade in Lagos cannot be exaggerated. A fort on the present position occupied by the slave barracoons, would prevent any transportation from the many slave nations in the interior of Benin, the king of which place now partially supplies the Lagos trade, assisted by the Joh men. On this question, together with family jealousies, Benin is divided into two separate states, Benin and Warree; and is likely, from the increase of legal trade in the Benin rivers and the quarrels of the royal family, to be yet again divided. It is long since the royal family of Benin, becoming too numerous and burthensome to the state, first divided; and one portion, crossing the river, settled at Warree, dependent and tributary to the parent state. When the Portuguese settled in the river, great inconveniences were felt by duties being levied by both governments. At their instance the Warree family threw off the yoke, and declared that state independent of Benin, and masters of the river and trade, which she now holds. The Warree

family becoming numerous, one of the younger branches founded a city on the Jackwaw creek (connecting Lagos and the Benin river); and the king of Warree having died, and his throne being disputed, the Jackwaw people, under their chief, Jibuffu, held neutral, and will, if they have not already, declare themselves independent of the new sovereign of Warree.

Notwithstanding the Benin river is ostensibly open to legal trade, it is also traded through by the slave-merchants of Lagos. Should an attack be contemplated on Lagos, small steamers might enter the Benin river and reach Lagos by the Joh creeks.

To return to Dahomey. The only slave port actually belonging to the kingdom is Whydah: but the king claims the beach and the right of embarkation, and enforces tribute from the European traders at the ports of Porto Novo and Badagry on the east, and the Popoes on the west. Several small nations have been conquered in opening a road from the interior kingdom of Dahomey to the sea, the chief of which

Whydah.

was Ardrah, whose capital Allahdah still remains. It is difficult, if not impossible, to decide what is the actual extent of the kingdom of Dahomey. It may, however, with safety be taken at about 180 miles from east to west, and nearly 200 from the sea coast at Whydah to its most northward boundary. Throughout its territories the population is far from sufficient for an advantageous occupation of more than one third of the lands; utterly insufficient, therefore, for the full development of the many sources of wealth which the rich soil and mineral resources of the country afford.

CHAP. II.

THE DAHOMANS AND THEIR MANNERS.

Most travellers are forcibly struck with the rapid improvement in morality, which, in barbarous equally with civilised countries, characterises the interior of a country as compared with its seaports. In the latter and their nomadic inhabitants immorality seems innate, and the habits of seafaring men of all nations and classes in the main tend to demoralise the society into which for a time chance throws them. They are birds of passage and of pleasure, and are content to seek the full of that licence which their temporary resting place affords. In Africa this is most patent; and idolatrous though they be, and barbarous in the extreme, the people of the interior are generally far more moral than the semi-civilised and nominally Christianised inhabitants of the sea coasts. At Whydah,

the Dahoman port, the personal depravity of the slave merchants has destroyed the inborn honesty and chastity of the natives, and the meretricious gaze of the females, and debauched and stealthy appearance of the men, are strongly and painfully contrasted with the modesty of the former and the honesty and openness of the latter, as the traveller nears the capital of the Dahoman kingdom.

Population of Dahomey.

Although unaltered in manners and customs, the kingdom of Dahomey is considerably increased, and now stands the greatest military monarchy in Western Africa. Ashantee sends tribute, and Yorihbah trembles when Gézo proclaims his slave-hunt. Owing to the ravages of its devastating wars, the population of the kingdom of Dahomey does not exceed 200,000 of both sexes; and Abomey, the capital, has not more than 30,000 inhabitants.. Of the whole population not more than 20,000 are free, the remainder slaves. The regular army consists of about 12,000, and of these 5000 are amazons. When the king goes to

war, he levies in all about 24,000 men, and an equal number of commissariat followers. Thus he moves on his war march with nearly 50,000 of both sexes, or one fourth the whole population of his kingdom. It is scarcely necessary to state that Dahomey is under a military rule and government, and has no parallel in history. The time is thus yearly divided in war and festival. The subjects attend at the Great Festival, the Se-que-ah-hee, with presents or tribute. If unable to be present in person, each must send a gift according to his rank and pretensions.

Annual wars and slave hunts.

In the months of November or December the king commences his annual wars. For three successive years his people have asked him for war upon a particular place; and he marches forth, concealing until within a day's march the name or the place against which he has brought them. Against the devoted city his troops march, whilst the king, nobles, and royal family remain encamped.

Daylight is generally the time of onset,

and every cunning, secrecy, and ingenuity is exercised to take the enemy by surprise. Thus at Okeadon, in 1848, one chief turned traitor, and introduced the Dahomans at daylight. They had made a feint on Abeah-Keutah, and in the night fell back upon Okeadon. On the opposite side to that attacked, ran a rapid river, and in crossing this many were drowned, and but few saved. Although there was no resistance, all the aged were decapitated on the spot, to the amount of thousands, and the strength and youth of the city sold into slavery.

The attack on the Attah-pahms.

The Attahpahms, in the early part of 1840, aware of the Dahoman march, sent every article from their town with all the aged, youths, and females. Unfortunately, the preparations of the Dahomans struck terror into the minds of the soldiers of the Attahpams, who, knowing their fate, if conquered, excepting about 400, fled from the city. Yet these 400 resolute men kept the Dahomans in check, killed many, put the males to the rout, and had it not been for a rally of the amazons, would

have discomfited the Dahoman army. Had the Attahpams stood, they would, with ease, have conquered the merciless invaders.

After the destruction of a town, notice is sent to all neighbouring cabooceers, or chiefs, calling upon them to swear allegiance to the conqueror. Many do so at once, and receive their original rank, with an equal, a Dahoman, to act as coadjutor: the remainder are persecuted until subjugated.

The annual Customs.

On the return from war in January, the king resides at Cannah, and what is termed "makes a Fetish," *i. e.* sacrifices largely and gives liberal presents to the Fetish people, and, at the same time, purchases the prisoners and heads from his soldiers: the slaves are then sold to the slave merchants, and their blood-money wasted in the ensuing Custom, Hwae-nooeewha, as the great annual feast is entitled in Dahoman parlance.

Of these Customs, the most important is that held in March, and called the See-que-ah-hee, at which the king's wealth is

profusely displayed, and of which one of the following Journals affords the first description ever given to the world. That which is held in May and June, is in honour of Trade, with music, dancing, and singing. A small schooner on wheels, laden with gifts, is then drawn round the capital, and the cargo afterwards scrambled for by the Dahoman army.

The royal salute.

In July, on an appointed day, the soldiers are planted along the road from Abomey to the beach at Whydah, a distance of ninety miles. At the moment when the king drinks, its announcement, by the first gun of a royal salute fired at Abomey, is carried by the musketry to Allahdah, whence the first of a salute there is conveyed similarly by sound to the beach at Whydah, intended as a salute to the Fetish of the Great Waters, or God of Foreign Trade. The boom of the first gun fired by the foreign forts at Whydah is echoed back through Allahdah to Abomey, whence another salute finishes this extraordinary Custom. August and September are oc-

cupied by preparations for war, serving out powder, balls, or gun-stones (small ironstones), and much palavar on war subjects. Before going to war the king makes a Custom to the memory of his father, which generally lasts a month; and thus ends the year, keeping the nation in a fever of excitement, dancing, singing, haranguing, firing, and cutting off heads; thus demoralising more and more the natures of a people already among the most barbarous of the African nations.

The origin of the Dahomans.

Strange and contradictory as it may sound, this great nation is no nation, but a banditti, and there are few pure Dahomans. Those who may claim to be of the race, are the king's family and the nobles; but even these are not of pure descent, as the harems of all are replenished with the fruits of war. As a military nation, the officers are natives, the soldiery foreigners, prisoners of war, or purchased slaves. To the eastward of Abomey, all is waste to the Ahjahee country, still unconquered, but threatened and already asked far once, the cause of offence

being, that they harboured the Attahpams. In the Attahpam, or north-east direction, Dahomey has no territory. To the west, Katoo is a possession, not by conquest, but conciliation. The people wished and the king agreed to war; but the Fetish people declared that, if war was made on Katoo, the king would be killed: the king sent large presents to the chiefs, and Katoo voluntarily submitted.

On the north, the Anagoo provinces are partly wastes, but still inhabited. On the north-west, the Eyeos and Mahees are still large nations under the Dahoman yoke. South, several nations have been subjugated, to open the road from the capital to the Port of Whydah. Porto Novo belongs to its own king of that ilk, and Badagry is under the rule of a native chief: yet the king of Dahomey claims the beach of both those places, and has made warlike excursions as far as the latter.

War is annual, or rather an annual slave-hunt is undertaken, to furnish funds for the royal exchequer. The king professes never

to make war on any country that has not insulted him, or until asked for by his people thrice, the mystic number. Okeadon is an exception. The cause of complaint against Abeah-Keutah now is, that, in the Okeadon war, they made a sally and took an amazon regiment, general; and umbrella. Greigwee or Whydah was taken, nominally, for selling muskets to the Dahomans, without locks, but, in reality, because they required a port for foreign trade. Eyeo, Attahpahm, Yorihbah, Anagoo, and Mahee, all more or less subjugated, made war upon Dahomey.

The slave hunts.

Industry and agriculture, are not encouraged. On the contrary, the king is aware, that, if the enjoyments of home, and the luxuries of health and domestic happiness, were once obtained, he would fail in volunteers for the annual slave-hunts. The road to riches hitherto has laid in the number of retainers the noble or chief could send to war. They are fed and partly clothed, but receive no pay, except at the scramble at the Customs.

Prisoners and heads are purchased from them, and, according to their bearing in war, the officers are the recipients of the royal bounty.

The king animates his chiefs, and creates emulation even between the highest. Thus, the miegan and the mayo will be called to the sacrifice of a bullock to their people. The mayo claims the head, the miegan demands it by right of position; the mayo boasts that he provides more soldiers, who do more execution in war; and the king allows him to retain it. If a soldier act as a coward, or, which is considered tantamount, does not either take prisoner or head, the king will offer him a present at the Customs; those who have acted well accuse him, and, if their accusation is proved, claim the present, while this charge thus substantiated, is acted upon at once.

The miegan and the mayo.

The actual first man in the kingdom is the miegan, who is the chief executioner; the second, the mayo or grand vizier: there is a female miegan and a mayo, who have corresponding duties in the harem.

SEH-DONG-HONG-BEH

Under the monarch, each rank has four equivalents: thus the miegan and the mayo hold a balance of power; their coadjutors in the harem are also equal to them in rank. The people are divided into two parties,—the miegan's and the mayo's, the right and the left. In war, the miegan's soldiers are joined by the miegan's amazons, and thus form the right or advanced battalion.

The amazons are not supposed to marry, and, by their own statement, they have changed their sex. "We are men," say they, "not women." All dress alike, diet alike, and male and female emulate each other: what the males do, the amazons will endeavour to surpass. They all take great care of their arms, polish the barrels, and, except when on duty, keep them in covers. There is no duty at the palace, except when the king is in public, and then a guard of amazons protect the royal person, and, on review, he is guarded by the males; but outside the palace is always a strong detachment of males ready for

The amazons.

service. The amazons are in barracks within the palace enclosure, and under the care of the eunuchs and the camboodee or treasurer. In every action (with males and females), there is some reference to cutting off heads. In their dances—and it is the duty of the soldier and the amazon to be a proficient dancer—with eyes dilated, the right hand is working in a sawlike manner for some time, as if in the act of cutting round the neck, when both hands are used, and a twist is supposed to finish the bloody deed.

Customs at court.

In the royal presence no rank is free from prostration, and the throwing dirt on the head, except white men, and a certain class of necromancers, who regulate sacrifices to divert epidemics, and other evils: these people wear hats, and only bow to the throne. The liberated Africans and returned slaves are considered as white men; and while the king's ministers are prostrate in the dust they merely bow. In the royal presence none may smoke but white men; and in the precincts of

the palace, or the grand Fetish houses, none but whites may remain covered, and none may be carried or ride, or be shaded by an umbrella, unless by the king's permission. If the king's stick be shown, all bow down and kiss the dust except the bearer, who is exempt.

Compliments.

In entering a town or house the head man presents the stranger with pure water, which he first drinks himself; and this is equivalent to a promise of safety. It is customary each morning to exchange compliments with sticks or seals, or other articles of *virtù* which may be known as the individual's representative; and each stick-bearer receives a glass of rum!

Royal wives.

The royal wives and their slaves, I presume from the jealousy of their despotic lord, are considered too sacred for man to gaze upon; and on meeting any of these sable beauties on the road, a bell warns the wayfarer to turn off, or stand against a wall while they pass. The king has thousands of wives, the nobles hundreds, others tens; while the soldier is

unable to support one. If one of the wives of the king, or a high officer's, commits adultery, the culprits are summarily beheaded; and the skull of one of the Agaou's wives is at present exposed in the square of the palace of Agrimgomeh, in Abomey. But if adultery be committed by parties of lower rank, they are sold as slaves. If a man seduces a girl, the law obliges marriage, and the payment of eighty heads of cowries to the parent or master, on pain of becoming himself a slave. In marriage there is no ceremony, except where the king confers the wife, in which instance the maiden presents her future lord with a glass of rum.

Marriages.

Laws and punishments.

The laws are very strict: treason, murder, adultery, cowardice, and theft, are punishable with death. Besides the form of trial illustrated in a later portion of this Journal, the cabooceers, headed by the Eeavoogan, form a court, of which the decision is subject to royal confirmation. If condemned to death, the convict is removed to the miegan's to await the

king's pleasure; if to slavery, to the mayo's, for the same purpose. Any head man of a town or district can, by prostrating and kissing the ground, declare a king's court, and try a culprit; but the sentence must be put in force at Abomey, and a public crier proclaims it in the market. All rank is hereditary and primogenitive, provided the king concurs; if not, he nominates another member of the family. The succession to the throne is also primogenitive, with the concurrence of the miegan and the mayo, who otherwise discriminate between the several next heirs of the reigning family.

Dress and ornaments.

The dress of the soldier and amazon is a tunic, short trowsers, and skull-cap, all in uniform. The general dress of the Dahomans is a small cloth round the loins, and a large country or foreign cloth, or silk, &c., thrown over the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and breast bare, and reaching to the ancles. Hats are seldom worn, shoes never; the king, however, wears sandals. The women wear a

cloth reaching to the knee, fastened under their breasts, and leaving them exposed; as they advance in years their breasts hang as much as two feet long, and are truly disgusting to European eyes. According to rank and wealth, anklets and armlets of all metals, and necklaces of glass, coral, and Popoe beads, are worn by both sexes. The Popoe bead is of glass, about half an inch long, and perforated. It is dug up in a country inland of Popoe, and cannot be imitated: all attempts hitherto have been detected. Hence it is very expensive, selling for half its weight in gold. It seems to me most propable that where they are found, formerly stood a large town, destroyed by war, and that the dead (as is usual in Dahomey and neighbouring parts in the present day) having been buried with their ornaments, some chemical property, that has destroyed the remains of the inhumed, has hardened and slightly changed the appearance of the glass bead. The natives have a tradition that they are the excrement of a large

serpent, or dragon, which (to account for its never being seen), if man beholds, he dies.

Houses, furniture, and food.

Dahoman houses, from the palace to the farm, all are similar. Walls, either of clay or palm branches, enclose, according to the number of inmates, courts and houses of all sizes, made of clay, and thatched with grass.

A bamboo beadstead or a few mats, some country pots and agricultural implements, and weapons, a loom of coarse material, besides the insignia of office (if a cabooceer or head man), are all the furniture. A store in each house is provided with cloths, grain, foreign goods, &c., according to the wealth of the owner. Within the enclosure are all domestic animals, and invariably a dog. The diet is simple, consisting chiefly of messes of meat and vegetable, mixed with palm oil and pepper, with which is eaten a corn cake called kankee, or dab-a-dab. There is very little variety. A mixture of beans, peppers, and palm oil, is made into a cake,

and sold to travellers; yams and cassada form the staples of food. Foreign liquors are scarce and expensive; and as palm wine is forbidden by the king, the chief drinks are a very palatable malt called pitto, and a sort of burgoo called ah-kah-sar. Drunkenness is not allowed; nor is there, except in Whydah, much opportunity for it. As a public example, the king kept a drunkard and fed him on rum, and exhibited him at the Customs, that his emaciated and disgusting appearance might shame his people from making beasts of themselves: this terrible example is dead.

Agriculture.

In agricultural pursuits they are advanced in knowledge, but extremely indolent, keeping but a tithe of the land in cultivation. Corn and beans are intermixed; and the land, although rich, highly manured. Palm plantations are also planted with corn, yams, and ground nuts. In short, in the small portions that are under-cultivation, they rival the Chinese. The agricultural implements of both nations, excepting the plough, are similar; but

whilst the Dahomans, equally with the industrious Chinese, lack the energy to overturn a bad traditionary system, they fall far short of them in industry and application. In the neighbourhood of Abomey, unlike the rest of Africa, men labour in the fields, and the women are only employed in carrying water.

Royal palm plantation.

An operation which, if carried out generally, would soon put an end to foreign slavery has been already commenced. Near Abomey is a royal plantation of palms, corn, &c. called Leffle-foo. It is inhabited by people from the province of Anagoo, prisoners of war, and is under the direction of a Dahoman cabooceer. The gifts of nature are all bountifully bestowed, and the soil rich and capable of producing every vegetable prouction. Indigenous are the palm, shea-butter, and cotton (the latter perennial and uncultivated), much fine timber, and many medical herbs and fruits; granite, iron, and sand-stones, conglomerate, and chalk, are expossd.

Language.

The Dahoman language is harsh and

guttural, poor and ill expressed in metaphors and parables: there is no written character.

Religion. Fetishes.

The religion of Dahomey is a mystery only known to the initiated. There is no daily worship, but periods at which the Fetish men and women dance. They who are initiated have great power, and exact much in return. It is a proverb that the poor are never initiated. The Fetish of Abomey is the leopard, that of Whydah the snake. The human sacrifices at the See-que-ah-hee are neither to the invincible god "Seh," nor to the Fetish "Voh-dong," but to the vitiated appetites of the soldiery. At the Cannah Customs there are sacrifices to the Voh-dong; and at the See-que-ah-hee there are sacrifices to the manes of their ancestors; the Dahomans, like the disciples of Confucius, looking to their departed ancestors for blessings in this life, and in the world to come. There are private sacrifices all the year round. If a rich man dies, a boy and a girl are sacrificed to attend him in the next world. Thus, when

Da Souza died, a boy and a girl were decapitated and buried with him, besides three men who were sacrificed on the beach at Whydah. At all Customs there are human sacrifices, yet much diminished in numbers. This year (1849) at the Customs 32 were sacrificed, last year 240. God grant they may soon see the errors of their ways! Religious toleration in Dahomey has as yet been confined to the followers of Mahomet, for whom there is a mosque in Abomey, and another in Whydah, with several mollahs from Haussah and Bornou.

Liberated slaves.

The only act of grace becomes one of slavery if examined. The liberated African from Bahia or Sierra Leone is received at Whydah on a footing with the white man, but if he stirs he is fettered ; he dare not leave the capital, even to return to the place of his birth, nor even to attend the Se-que-ah-hee, unless with a present according to his pretensions.

Ancient rules.

There are certain ancient rules which must be conformed to on pain of imprisonment, slavery, or death ; but the present

king seldom puts his own subjects to death, or allows them to be enslaved by foreigners. By these rules no man must alter the construction of his house, sit upon a chair, be carried on a hammock, or drink out of a glass.

Extortion by presents. Offices.

Travellers in Dahomey are often much imposed upon by the national custom of making no charge for either a service or an article, but of expecting a present in return. It is not for some time that the value of an article or a service can be determined, and each servant has his peculiar ideas of sufficiency. Always expecting more, he will make no charge: and if the traveller give less, he will not take it; if enough, he is not satisfied; and if more, the stranger has stamped the price for his sojourn — it will never be reduced. No office under government is paid, and the offices, although hereditary, are subject to much espionage. In the house of each minister lives a king's daughter and two officers: these superintend the minister's trade, on which he pays tribute according to their

report. If a dispute arises in which the king's interest is at stake, these officers report direct; and if the dispute is serious, the minister is arrested or fined. The whole system is one of espionage, cunning, and intrigue; and no man's head is safe on his shoulders for twenty-four hours.

Taxes, and their collectors.

Taxes are heavy to all parties, and farmed to collectors. The holders of the Customs have collectors stationed at all markets, who receive cowries in number according to the value of the goods carried for sale. Besides these, there are collectors on all public roads leading from one district to another, and on the lagoon on each side of Whydah; in short, every thing is taxed, and the tax goes to the king.

If a cock crows in the highway, it is forfeited to the tax-gatherer, and, consequently, on the whole distance from Abomey to Whydah, the cocks are muzzled. On the lagoon and public roads, there are toll-gates, at which a custom duty is demanded. These, with the annual presents at the Customs, the tithe on palm oil of

one gallon out of eighteen, and the duties on foreign trade, form the legal revenue of his Dahoman majesty.

Money.

The currency of the Dahoman kingdom is the cowrie shell, of which 2,000 are calculated to form one "head," to which a nominal value of one dollar is attached. Such, however, is the scarcity of a metallic currency, that, in exchange, the silver dollar is eagerly taken at 2,400 to 2,600 cowries; and other metals, as well the lower as the higher, are freely taken in barter. This scarcity of a metallic currency affords a good opening for a trade in bullion at Whydah, the effect of which could not but be to materially arrest the progress of the slave trade.

Life in Dahomey.

The every-day life of a Dahoman, it would be a difficult matter to describe, depending as it does on the whim of the sovereign. Should a man inherit industrious habits, he must be very cautious in developing them, lest he fall under the suspicion of the government. If he brings more soil under cultivation, or in any manner ad-

vances his family to riches, without the license of the king, he not only endangers his fortune, but his own life and the lives of his family: instead of becoming a man of property and head of a family, he is condemned to slavery; and, serving his Majesty or his ministers, assists unwillingly to uphold the laws that have ruined him, his only alternative being death.

The stopping the slave trade no doubt would assist to alter such an unfortunate state of affairs; but the true destroyer of such gross evils would be the advancement of civilisation,—the instruction of the mind by the enlightenment of a religious education.

In their every-day life there is a great similarity in all barbarous nations; generally the ruler is supreme, and the director of the customs by which, under the sovereign, savage nations are governed. All black nations, in common with many less barbarous, as for instance the Chinese and Malays, in speaking of the organ of man's understanding, imagine that we

derive reason and wisdom from the belly. In this there is not so much cause for wonder as is generally considered: with a wild man the day's pastime is regulated by appetite, and by the state of his stomach he is ruled. The uneducated black looks upon eating and drinking as necessary evils they are compelled to submit to; and, while satisfying the cravings of hunger and thirst, only partake of a sufficiency to sustain nature, and give the necessary strength to enable them to pursue their course of duty. These primitive habits suffer materially on the common advance of civilisation and intermixture with Europeans; unless particularly guarded against, the luxury of intoxication completely prostrates the unfortunate barbarian, and, as with the Indians of North America, might probably exterminate the aborigines of Africa contemporaneously with the advance of civilisation.

Measure of time.

Although time is measured during the day by the cravings of the stomach in a great measure, I do not mean that a constant sense of the sun's regularity does not

convince the negro that it marks the period of day; and in Africa its rising and setting being generally regular, time would require but little other measurement, were it not that for six months of the year (the rainy season) it is generally obscured for the greater part of the day. They have an odd method among the warlike tribes of judging time by night, which is generally managed very correctly. At each gate of a stockaded town is posted a sentry, who is provided with a pile of stones, the exact number of which is previously ascertained. The night is divided into four watches; during each watch, the sentry removes the pile of stones, one by one, at a measured pace from one gate to another, calling out each tenth removal: when all are removed the watch is relieved.

Town guards.

The walled towns are particularly vigilantly guarded, and besides sentries and dogs, it is not uncommon to place a town under the charge of the fetish or charm of some particular kind and divinity. The most useful of these I met with was in a

stockaded town called Iomiqui. In the lighter portions of the bamboo stockade, thousands of the small palm bird (a very domestic little bird of the sparrow family, particularly noisy) had built their nests. The old chief with exultation told me war dared not come; for if it did it would be proclaimed by thousands of these fetish, and the whole town be on the instant in arms for its defence. As their larger feathered brethren the geese of Rome, saved the Capitol, so might the palm birds save Iomiqui by their shrill and discordant cries.

THE JOURNALS.

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JOURNAL OF A MISSION TO THE COURT OF DAHOMEY

In October and November, 1849.

PART I.

FROM WHYDAH TO ABOMEY.

Oct. 3. to 16.

Appointment to mission.

In the autumn of 1849, the late Mr. Duncan, the enterprising African traveller, arrived on that coast, with the appointment of Vice-Consul to the kingdom of Dahomey, and applied to the then commander-in-chief of the blockading squadron, at the request of the Dahoman king, for a naval officer to accompany him in his mission to Abomey. The instructions which I received on being

appointed to this mission by the naval commander, pointed out the strong hopes that were entertained of the Dahoman king being persuaded to consent to a treaty for the effectual suppression of the slave trade within his dominions. On my arrival off Whydah in the Bonetta, on the 2d of October, I had immediate proof that our mission was looked forward to with no little dread by the slave dealers, in the difficulty, which I learned, from Captain Hervey, the senior officer of the station, he had experienced in communicating with my colleague the vice-consul. Some days before my arrival, Captain Hervey, anxious to acquaint Mr. Duncan with my appointment, had ordered Lieutenant Hamilton to land with despatches. On nearing the beach in a boat of her Majesty's ship Kingfisher, that officer boarded a canoe, when the crew declared to a man that if he remained they would jump overboard and swim on shore; and the communication was eventually made by veering a small cask

through the surf. Proceeding to the back of the surf, I sent three kroomen in my kroo canoe on shore to ascertain its exact state; but, on returning, the canoe was dashed to pieces, and the kroomen succeeded in relanding.

Dangerous landing at Whydah.

Oct. 4th. — Having borrowed Captain Harvey's kroo canoe, I entered her at the back of the surf at daylight (though the surf was still very high), but had no sooner topped the first wave than we were capsized, and, with the three canoe men, Jack Smart, Tom Walker, and Ben Coffee, I immediately swam off, and after a good deal of trouble and danger, landed safe on the beach. The blacks, who had assembled in great numbers to view this novel mode of landing, rendered every assistance that was in their power; and having wrapt myself in a country cloth and taken a glass of raw rum, I despatched a messenger to Whydah to acquaint Mr. Duncan of my arrival.

Opposition to our progress.

In a short time the vice-consul arrived, and explained that he had already visited

the king. Owing, however, to the extraordinary oppositions evinced by the slave dealers and others, and in order that every request the king had made might be complied with, he could not but wish that I should proceed on my mission, in which he agreed to bear me company. On Mr. Duncan's landing he had been well received, and at the court was honourably treated; but on his return, some unknown cause had changed the aspect of affairs; he was viewed with suspicion, and every annoyance practised that was in the power of his persecutors.

Reception at Whydah.

Hammocks being provided, we proceeded to the town of Whydah, which lies about a mile and a half from the beach, on which last each large factor has a temporary store. A sandy neck separates the sea from the lagoon (about a quarter of a mile wide), and passing that the road leads through a swamp. Mons. Blancleley, agent for a Marseilles house, invited Mr. Duncan and myself to dinner. On arriving at the

French fort, a salute was fired by order of the agent.

First visit to the viceroy.

Oct. 5th. — This morning on proceeding to the beach, I found my baggage landed by the canoes of the French agents. On my return from this necessary preliminary, I visited the viceroy, whom I found in a court-yard, in the centre of a large enclosure of innumerable huts; he was seated on a mat, whilst in front of him were some old chairs for ourselves; accompanying, were the French agent, and, by the viceroy's desire, the agent of the British fort.

The Viceroy of Whydah, or Ee-a-voo-gan (minister for white men), is a tall, over-fat black, with a jovial heavy cast of countenance. He wore a large English cotton cloth round his loins, his only article of dress; round his neck were strings of coral and other beads, and on his wrists bracelets of iron.

Second visit to the viceroy.

Oct. 6th. — At 9 A. M., the viceroy sent to request I would visit him and explain my wishes. On arriving, Mr. Duncan and

myself were ushered into a small apartment, and this time took an efficient interpreter, "the Black Governor appointed by the king to the English fort." The viceroy was in a particularly good humour. Having explained to him that I was the bearer of a letter from the naval commander-in-chief to the king, he received a signet ring and despatched a messenger with it to Abomey, and offered clear water and liqueurs; after which the interview came to an end in a complimentary conversation.

Oct. 7th. — This evening a little acting was indulged in by a Brazilian slave dealer, who came to explain to us that he was charged with giving information to the men-of-war; finding nothing else would answer, I peremptorily ordered him from the fort.

The viceroy's state visit.

Oct. 8th. — The viceroy called in state. Preceding him were about forty soldiers armed with muskets ; next came his stool of office and two banners; then the ee a-voo-gan on horseback, supported by two attendants,

followed by a band of discordant music. He was dressed in a very fine country cloth, and wore on his arms armlets of silver, reaching from the wrist to the elbow, embossed with the lion of England and the heads of George the Third and his queen. He had no sooner entered the yard than he ordered his soldiers to salute me, by keeping up an independent fire during the interview. The conversation was purely complimentary; and, after drinking wine, liqueur, and beer, he took leave. According to the custom of the country, I accompanied my visitor for a little distance on his road.

The Da Souza customs.

Although Da Souza died in May, the customs to his memory are not yet closed, and the town is still in a state of ferment. Three hundred of the amazons are daily in the square, firing and dancing; bands of fetish people parade the streets, headed by Guinea-fowls, fowls, ducks, goats, pigeons, and pigs, on poles, alive for sacrifice. Much rum is distributed, and all night there is shouting, firing, and dancing.

Oct. 9th. — One of the slave merchants, a native of Madeira, called. While in conversation with him at the window of the fort, some of the crew of a captured slaver passed, and became extremely abusive; their attention was attracted by a Krooman, who had climbed the flag-staff, to look out for Her Majesty's ship Kingfisher.

Procession of chiefs to meet slavers.

Oct. 10th. — The town was much disturbed, not only by the continuance of the Da Souza custom, but also by the cabooceers' going forth to meet a supercargo of a slave vessel, who has this day landed. The procession was by no means unpicturesque. First came the junior cabooceers, headed by their armed retainers, and insignia and flags, each followed by a band, mounted, under a huge umbrella; lastly, the viceroy. This, excepting the richness of dresses and ornament, and the convenience of sedan-chairs, is precisely the etiquette of a Chinese official procession. After much firing, they proceeded to the grand fetish tree; and, having performed a ceremony,

retired to their houses. In the evening the messenger returned from Abomey, and the viceroy's head man accompanied him. On arriving in the hall, they prostrated and kissed the ground, and then handed to me a gold-headed Malacca cane, which was explained to be my protection, adding, that his majesty commanded *Mr. Duncan* and *myself* to repair to Abomey at our earliest convenience. Having rewarded the messenger, he retired, whilst we began to think over our preparations.

Message from the king.

Oct. 11*th.* — Prepared for the journey, by purchasing fifty heads of cowries, valued at fifty dollars. Each head contains, 2,000 cowries, and ten heads form a load for a woman. Thus, to carry fifty dollars, we had to hire five women! We next purchased fifty gallons of rum, which were placed in twenty kegs, and required ten women to carry them. Two pieces of silk as a present for the king and some cloths for his ministers, concluded our purchases. Hired twenty-six hammock-men, and sixteen men and twenty

Preparations for our journey.

women to carry our baggage. These people are what is termed "subsisted" at two strings of cowries (eighty) a day, and, according to their work are rewarded with a present when it is concluded. My travelling dress in Africa was always a flannel blouse and trowsers, and straw hat. A small quantity of camphor in a bag, and a few pieces in a goose-quill to put in the mouth in crossing a swamp, unless already occupied by one of an invariable supply of cigars, completed my stores. The canteen contained all necessary articles for dinner and tea for two; and a liqueur-case was also supplied with glass. The hammock, which is carried on the heads of two men by means of a pole, was stored with a pillow, a change of clothes, a book, and some lime-juice, a camp bed, and two camp stools, and money in the native currency. Isidore, the eldest son of the late Da Souza, called.

Commence our journey.

Oct. 12*th.* — Having made all our arrangements, and sent on the baggage, at

1 P.M. we started. According to etiquette, we had to call upon the viceroy, who asked for the king's stick. On receiving it, he prostrated and kissed the dust, then returned it, and told me that the stick was sufficient protection, but, as an additional escort, he gave me his "hand and foot," his head man Narwhey (whom I have since discovered to be the greatest rascal I ever met, as future Journals will illustrate). He then asked me if I was desirous of the black interpreter, Mr.——, mentioned before, to accompany me. I told him, No; that he was a well-known spy of Domingo Martins, and a very unfit companion; that he had never asked me, but when in my hammock, leaving the fort, he had told me he was going to Abomey; to which I replied, that he should not accompany me.

Madiki the commandant.

Besides Mr. Duncan and myself, the interpreter, Mark Lemon, rode in hammocks. Mark Lemon is the grandson of an English corporal of the fort in Governor James's

time, and now commandant for the king of Dahomey. Time has changed his name; the Lemon is seldom heard, and the Mark has become Dahomanised into Madiki: a poor simple-minded man, holding the king of Dahomey in the light of a god. Passing through a flat country, overrun with grass (but in the season burnt down and planted with corn), interspersed with a few palm-oil plantations, at a distance of five miles we halted during a thunder-storm at the

Savee. town of Savee. This town was formerly the capital of the kingdom of Greigwei, and the seat of trade; one hundred and fifty years since, the site of the foreign forts, which were afterwards removed to Whydah. Let it not be supposed, in speaking of cities and towns, that these are intersected by streets or ornamented by public buildings. Except a royal residence, all buildings are similar; and a cluster of enclosures forms, according to the ground it occupies, a city, a town, or a village. Savee has one peculiarity: in Whydah all the houses are of

clay; in Savee, of palm-branches, and very low. So soon as the tornado had passed, we journeyed on to Toree, five miles further, passing through a well-wooded country. At Toree, a large fair is held on every fourth day, where goods are exchanged, and passed into the interior. The town is small and has no prominent feature. Narwhey has a large farm there, at which we slept for the night. What was my surprise to find my black friend, Mr. ——, arrived before me, and now facetiously prominent in assisting me from my hammock. Calling Narwhey to me, I explained to him that I should start on the morrow at six A. M., and that Mr. —— might go at five or seven, but not with me, and that if he attempted to do so, I should forcibly eject him from my party. This man attended Mr. Cruikshanks on his mission, and, as my interpreter (who was there also) informs me, corresponded nightly with Da Souza, the eminent slave merchant. Toree.

Oct. 13*th.*—Leaving Toree, the country Azohwee.

is more open until, after a journey of about five miles, you arrive at the village of Azohwee, surrounded by a forest of gigantic trees, filled with monkeys of all sizes. In this forest the absence of all birds, by a freak of nature, was supplied by thousands of butterflies of every hue and most pleasing to the eye, whilst the air was redolent of the perfume of a thousand flowers as beautiful as they were fragrant. At noon we entered Allahdah, a city twenty-four miles distant from Whydah, holding a palace, the wall of which, about a mile and a half square, encloses many houses, one of which, alone, standing over the gateway, is two stories high. Here I felt I had entered the kingdom of Dahomey. Looking over the wall of the palace, was the skull of one who, too curious, had sought a taste of the pleasures of the mysteries within, now a ghastly warning to sensualists. In the square of the palace stood some fine forest trees, while a row of small trees in the centre bore each a human skull and jaw-

Allahdah.

bone; three trees, standing apart from the rest, bore the bleached remains of three brothers, whose story is thus related:— What is remarkable in Africa (where there is a multiplicity of wives), the three brothers were born by one father and one mother. When the king of Dahomey made war upon Greigwei (years lang syne), one of these brothers was found slightly wounded on the road, and beheaded as an example to others. This act of tyranny so enraged the brothers, that they demanded death or release from the ranks, and received the former. As a military example, their skulls bleach, whilst the tale is told by every urchin. Each minister possesses a house in the town, and we occupied that of the treasurer (Camboodee). It was a mere shell, entirely bare of furniture, and the walls damp and green. With the shades of evening came flights of vampire bats that almost darkened the sky, and swarms of Turkey buzzards, so ravenous and daring that

The camboodee's house.

they almost fought with our servants in the court-yard for the entrails of the fowls. During the day the bats may be seen hanging in clusters on the tall cotton trees, where the Turkey buzzards sit and sleep away their repletion, to which their active duties as the scavengers of town and country subject them. Not a scrap of animal remains escapes them, whether fresh or swarming with insect life. In the evening the king's wives sent us a present of palm-oil soup and dab-a-dab; in return for which we sent the royal ladies some rum.

The market of Allahdah.

The market of Allahdah is by no means large, but very cheap. Eggs are sold at 400 for a dollar; oranges, which grow in great quantities, at 2,000 the dollar; whilst eight fowls can be bought for a similar sum. Immediately in the vicinity of the town, the ground is under high cultivation, but is soon lost in forest and bush. On entering Allahdah, is a large cleared square, in which are the fetish houses; on leaving

it, is seen a battery of fifteen guns of all sizes, lying uselessly on the ground, without carriages.

Oct. 14*th.*—At 7 A. M. we proceeded on our journey, and walked through a beautiful undulating park-like country, studded with magnificent trees—sycamores 130 feet high, and the huge giant cotton with its enormous girt of root spreading over 40 square feet. The variety of flower was remarkable, and, together with the brilliant and varied colours of the butterflies, rendered the scene at once fragrant and beautiful. No one that has not travelled in Dahomey will believe the beauty of its scenery. Africa is considered generally as "a wild expanse of lifeless sand and sky," and not supposed to offer so romantic and beautiful a country, where large clusters of grapes, rough in skin, but palatable in taste, grow on all sides. The first halt was at the village of Doonoo, which, though small, supported a large blacksmith's shed, in which the "cunning men" were indus-

Park-like country.

triously fashioning rude hoes. At Atoogoo, another small village, we felled a tree, intending to have it removed to Whydah as a flagstaff for the fort; and thence, passing the village of Assegwee on the right, arrived at the town of Havee, boasting a royal residence in a very dilapidated state, and a grand fetish house, fancifully painted. Passing the village of Togoh to the right, we soon entered the town of Wybahgon or Whygon, fifty miles from Whydah, and took up our quarters in a fetish house. Here each farm is supplied with a separate granary, raised, as in England, on supporters; and cultivation, as usual, extends to a little distance round each town or village. Many clusters of wild pine-apple and bananas ornament the road. From this town our course deviated from north to north-east, in order to avoid a large swamp which was impassable, and which added a circuit of twenty miles to our journey from the coast of Abomey.

Forest country.

Oct. 15*th.*—Started at 7 A.M., and passed

over an undulating forest country, presenting, for the first time on our journey, stones. Not a pebble is to be found for fifty miles inland of Whydah. The soil over that extent of country is a stiff red loam; but even to the depth of wells of 100 feet there are no pebbles; and granite, for grinding, and stones for pounding foo-foo, are procured from the mountains of Kong, and carried on men's heads to Whydah, a distance of about 200 miles. Every kind of burden is carried on their heads, nor have they much idea of the division of labour in slinging a large article. On our march we have passed thousands carrying goods to and fro, and noticed hardly a single instance of the use of slings for heavy burdens.

Absence of stone.

As we advanced, ironstone, sandstone, and conglomerate, increased, until lost in the oozy soil of a deep vegetable swamp, in a large forest, formerly the bed of a river, and leaving very little doubt of its being (below) a coal deposit. Such a country

Pass the great swamp.

seems marked for railway enterprise. If coal can be procured at will, there is timber enough to make sleepers, for all the *chemins de fer* in the world, and iron ore sufficient for every kind of machinery. The land is capable of producing any and every thing. Gold is found in the neighbouring state of Ashantee, and doubtless may be traced here. Quartz is common in the Kong Mountains; diamonds and other precious stones might repay enterprise. Although we made a circuit, we did not altogether clear the swamp, but passed several soft patches, in the centre of which was a market called Massee, providing for the wants of travellers. At the village of Ilomee we halted an hour; and arriving at Sequeh, were met by a king's messenger, who came to inquire how we had passed the swamp. At 5 P. M. we halted in a large market called Troo-boo-doo, twenty-four miles from Abomey, and took up our quarters in one of the stalls. As it was not market-day, Mr. Duncan shot some

doves, which supplied the place of fowls. Game is plentiful all along the road. Guinea-fowl, bush-fowl, and partridges have been calling along our route. The forests abound in deer, pigs, monkeys; besides wild beasts, as leopards and wolves. The patakoos, as the wolves are called, are heard howling all night long in Abomey, Whydah, and all towns on our route; but the fear of the deadly cobras, which are extremely numerous, deters the native from warring against the wolves in their wild haunts, and he is content to trap them in large square traps, like gigantic models of the ingenious little machines, by which sparrows are caught by English boys.

Arrive at Cannah.

Oct. 16*th.*—Started at 7 A. M. for Cannah Minah (Cannah). During the previous part of the journey, I have remarked the absence of the feathered tribe except the police of Dahomey, the disgusting Turkey buzzard. But now the plains of Cannah are gay with birds of beautiful and

magnificent plumage, of the most brilliant scarlet.

"Thick swarm the brighter birds; for Nature's hand,
That with a sportive vanity has decked
The plumy nations, there her gayest hues
Profusely pours. But, if she bids them shine
Arrayed in all the beauteous beams of day,
Yet, frugal still, she humbles them in song."

THOMSON.

Oh for a bird-stuffer! What ought not a traveller to be? And what does he not lose by not having studied these necessary arts? At half-past 8 we entered the straggling beautiful city of Cannah by passing a pretty brook, situated in a picturesque bosquet. Cannah covers about six square miles of ground; in it are four palaces of large extent, and each house has its piece of ground under cultivation dividing it from its neighbours. Here commences a broad clean road, as wide as any high road in England, leading to Abomey, with branch roads, equally good, approaching the palaces. The market is very extensive, occurring as,

usual with all large markets in Dahomey, once in four days. There is a sereneness about this spot that leads the ideas far from Africa. The views are beautiful; the dwellings clean, neat, and quiet. Numbers of aged of both sexes speak of peace; for while the hordes of the monarch and his nobles carry war and devastation into all the neighbouring countries, Cannah (formerly the capital of Fay, then called Dawee), conquering Abomey, has retained a peace of upwards of 200 years. The cultivation in the neighbourhood rivals that of the Chinese.

All visitors halt at Cannah, and report their arrival by messengers. Having, in pursuance of this custom, selected a messenger, Narwhey prostrated himself, and then received our sticks (three in number, for the sable governor sends his also), and, presenting them to the messenger, charged him with our greeting to the king. All our party had arrived, to the number of one hundred, and we now occupied the treasurer's house. As at Allahdah, it was bare

of furniture, and very damp. Soon after our arrival we were presented with clean water, and a present of about a hundred-weight of food from the royal wives. The palaces at Cannah are vast enclosures, entered only and inhabited by the females, wives, amazons, and slaves of the king. In the walls of each are covered entries or gates, at which the monarch receives visitors; and a guard supervises the ingress and egress of the inhabitants. In the afternoon our messenger returned, commanding us to rise early and proceed to Abomey, and the mayo's stick soon after followed, with compliments.

PART II.

ABOMEY, ITS COURT AND ITS PEOPLE.

The road from Cannah to Abomey.

Thus, in rather less than four days, we had completed our journey from the coast to within sight of the capital of Dahomey. It was with not little eagerness that I rose at the earliest dawn, and, after taking a light breakfast, proceeded slowly along the broad road that led to the gates of the great city. On both sides of the way were several small villages, and cultivation was both abundant and good. Palm-oil trees, corn, and beans abounded, and many a noble tree of that strange kind whence the Shea butter is made by the natives. Of these trees one struck me in particular, with its thick foliage like the evergreen oak, and its profusion of butter-nuts, as large as pigeons' eggs, covered with a palatable pulp. On either side of the highway, roads branch off to the several palaces, in-

cluding that of Bah-dah-hoong the residence of the heir-apparent to the Dahoman crown. Of the villages, that of Leffle-foo is peopled with captive Anagoos, the name of one of whose provinces it bears, under the controul of a Dahoman cabooceer, and is justly remarkable for the superiority of its cultivation and the industry of its denizens.

The city of Abomey and its defences.

Within about a quarter of a mile of the city gates, on either side of the road, under sheds, stand a couple of two-and-thirty-pounder carronades. From thence, to the very gates, the road is lined by the Fetish houses, numbering more than sixty. To the left is seen, on the outskirts of a copse, a palace, surrounded by a high red clay wall. No visitor can enter Abomey without a sensation of disappointment in the want of grandeur, and disgust at the ghastly ornaments of its gateway. The city is about eight miles in circumference, surrounded by a ditch, about five feet deep, filled with the prickly acacia, its only defence. It is entered by six gates, which are simply clay walls crossing the road, with

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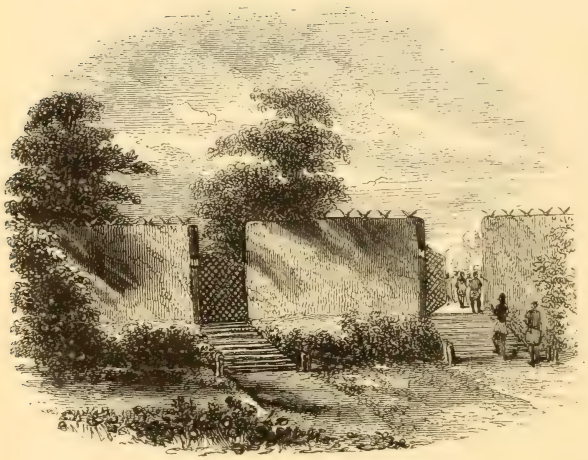


THE GATES OF DAHOMEY.

two apertures, one reserved for the king, the other a thoroughfare for his subjects. In each aperture are two human skulls; and on the inside a pile of skulls, human, and of all the beasts of the field, even to the elephant's. Besides these six gates, the ditch, which is of an oval form, branches off, at each side the north-west gate, to the north and north-west, and over each branch is a similar gateway, for one only purpose — to mislead an enemy in a night attack. In the centre of the city are the palaces of Dange-lah-cordeh and Agrim-gomeh, adjoining; on the north stands the original palace of Dahomey; about these, and to the south gate, are houses, the most conspicuous of which are those of the ministers. In front of Agrim-gomeh is an extensive square, in which are the barracks and a high shed or palaver house, a saluting battery of fifteen guns, and a stagnant pond. Just inside the south-east gate (the Cannah) are a saluting battery and pond, and numerous blacksmiths' shops. The roads or streets are in good order; and, though there

are not any shops, the want of them is supplied by two large markets — Ah-jah-ee, to the eastward of the central palace, at once a market, parade, and sacrificial ground; and Hung-jooloh, just outside the south gate. Besides these are several smaller markets, the stalls of which are all owned, and are generally attended, by women, the wives of all classes and orders, from the miegans to the blacksmiths. The fetish houses are numerous, and ridiculously ornamented. Cloths are manufactured within the palaces and houses. The only other manufacture is in a pottery, which, with a dye-house, is a royal monopoly, inasmuch as the royal wives work them; and none may approach the factory. Within the city are large waste lands and many cultivated farms. There are no regular streets, and it is difficult for a European to imagine himself in the capital of a large country, as all the houses are surrounded by high red clay walls, which enclose large forest trees, besides orange, banana, and other fruit trees. All the houses are low and thatched, and one only,

in the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh, and one in that of Cumassee, can boast of two stories. Leaving the south gate, the traveller passes through the town of Beh-kon, occupied principally by the palaces of Cumassee and Ahgon-groo, and the houses of the ministers; whilst from the south-west gate the road leads to another royal palace. The Dahoman capital is, in fact, entirely unprotected by its walls and gates, and built in the most ill-judged of positions for so large a city. For a distance of five miles on every side there is no water. Passing out of the north gate, the traveller soon arrives at a most beautiful point of view. Standing on an eminence of some hundred feet, a fertile valley lies stretched at his feet, bounded in the extreme north-west by the lofty summits of the Dab-a-Dab hills, tinged with blue, and looming larger from the distant view. Here and there about this fertile plain are small oozy reservoirs of water, from which the sole supply of that necessary element is obtained for the populous city. With so scanty and precarious a supply, it may be well supposed

that fresh water is a luxury in Abomey, and the cry of "Seedagbee" (good water) as constant as the "Agua de Lisboa" of the Gallegos in Portugal. On the north-eastern side of the capital the farms are dependant solely on the rain-water collected during the rainy season, and secured in deep pits smeared on the inside with palm-oil, whence it is drawn off into earthen vessels, and thus stored up within the houses until the return of the rainy period.

Preparation for our first interview with the king.

Within a short distance of the royal residence we halted at the house of a friend of our interpreter's, where we dressed in our full uniforms, and then moved forward to some shady trees to await the arrival of the cabooceers who were to conduct us to the royal presence. In our rear were arranged our followers, hammockmen, and a crowd of Dahoman spectators. About a quarter of a mile from us stood a vast assembly of cabooceers and soldiers, with umbrellas of state, flat-topped, and ornamented like those of the Chinese, and banners of every hue and most varied devices.

Besides the Dahoman standards, each of which was ornamented by a human skull, floated the national flags of France, England, Portugal, and Brazil, whilst every cabooceer had his own particular pennon.

Visits from cabooceers and king's brother.

The first chief who advanced from this gay crowd of cabooceers was Boh-peh, the governor of the capital, dressed in a country cloth wrapped round his body, a slouched hat, necklaces of coral and other beads, and armed with a handsome sword. Behind him came a retinue of soldiers, his standard, his umbrella of state, and his stool of rank; and, lastly, a band of most discordant music. Arrived in front of our position, he bowed, and then marched, from right to left, round our seats three times, completing each circuit with a low obeisance. On his third round he discharged three muskets and danced a short measure, then advanced and shook hands, and seated himself on his stool of office, which its bearer had placed on my right hand. Ah-hoh-peh, the king's brother, and Gaseh-doh, the chief of the cabooceers of Abomey, followed with

similar attendants and ceremonies. When the whole party was seated, a body of the royal household, having half their heads shaved, took position in front, and sang a hymn of welcome to us. They were showily dressed in scarlet trimmed with yellow beads and other ornaments, with their heads covered by silver caps, some of which were distinguished by a pair of small silver horns, such as are commonly worn in the northern parts of Africa, and especially in Abyssinia. In his right hand each carried a horse-tail whip, with which he beat time to the air of the chant.

Next advanced Poh-veh-soo and his party of blunderbuss-men, who, after passing round us three times, fired a salute. Poh-veh-soo, as will be seen in a future journal, is at once a military officer, court-fool, and headsman, — the latter office no sinecure. So soon as we had completed the usual ceremony of drinking healths, we entered our hammocks, and, joining procession after the cabooceers and their levees, amid the firing of muskets, blunder-

THE RECEPTION OF THE "AH-HAUSSOO-NOH-BEH".

busses, and short brass guns, marched to the palace square.

Presentation to the king at the palace of Dange-lah.

The walls of the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh are surmounted, at a distance of twenty feet, with human skulls, many of which ghastly ornaments time has decayed, and the wind blown down. Happy omen! they are not replaced. The square of the palace was filled with armed people, seated on their hams, the polished barrels of their Danish muskets standing up like a forest. Under a thatched gateway was the king, surrounded by his immediate wives; while on each side sat the amazons, all in uniform, armed, and accoutred; and in the centre of the square squatted the males. Hundreds of banners and umbrellas enlivened the scene, and a constant firing from great guns and small arms increased the excitement.

When near the king's seat we came to a halt, while the cabooceers bowed down and kissed the dust. Passing before the throne, we bowed and made the circuit of the square three times, the cabooceers pros-

trating, and ourselves repeating our obeisances each time that we passed the royal seat. On the third time, the ministers and cabooceers formed a line to the king's position; and, as we stept from our hammocks, the king, who had been reclining, rose, and forty discordant bands struck up a quick step, whilst guns were fired, and all shouted except the ministers and cabooceers, who prostrated themselves and threw dirt on their heads as we advanced and shook hands with the king. His Dahoman Majesty, King Gézo, is about forty-eight years of age, good-looking, with nothing of the negro feature, his complexion wanting several shades of being black; his appearance commanding, and his countenance intellectual, though stern in the extreme. That he is proud there can be no doubt, for he treads the earth as if it were honoured by its burden. Were it not for a slight cast in his eye, he would be a handsome man. Contrasted with the gaudy attire of his ministers, wives, and cabooceers (of every hue, and laden with coral,

gold, silver, and brass ornaments), the king was plainly dressed, in a loose robe of yellow silk slashed with satin stars and half-moons, Mandingo sandals, and a Spanish hat trimmed with gold lace; the only ornament being a small gold chain of European manufacture.

Taking our seats on chairs facing the royal mat, we entered into a complimentary conversation, the king asking many questions about our sovereign and England, and afterwards of Messrs. Freeman, Cruikshanks, and Wynniett, who had preceded us at his court. The ministers were then introduced by name, and we all drank together. Next, about forty cabooceers were similarly introduced.

The English mother was now pointed out (for this arrangement see journal of the customs), and we were placed under her care.

Review of the Amazons.

His Majesty, having asked me if I would wish to see a review of the amazons, to which I acquiesced with delight, ordered three regiments to be paraded. The

ground was changed, the men falling back, and a square was marked out for the review. One regiment was distinguished by a white cap with two devices (blue alligators), another by a blue cross, while the third had a blue crown. The officers were recognised by their coral necklaces and superior dresses; while each carried a small whip, which they freely plied when required. After being inspected, they commenced an independent firing, whilst at intervals, rushing from their ranks, many of them would advance to the foot of the throne, address the king, hold aloft their muskets, and then return and fire them. During the review the ministers assembled on the left of the king. On his right were some high officers of the amazons in uniform and neat accoutrements, performing their offices about the king's person: one held a silver spittoon, another the royal hat, a third the club, — a handsome ebony stick ornamented with silver; one proclaimed the conquests of the Dahoman army, while two, as heralds, with long

trumpets, blew a blast, and then blazoned forth the numerous names of Gézo, the king of kings. Immediately in rear of the king sat the "Light of the Harem," under a handsome crimson and gold parasol; around her many an envious maid, whose turn it might be soon to be thus honoured. Their dresses were more gaudy than rich, ornamented with coral and glittering beads.

The king having asked us to drink, rose, with his glass in hand, and tapped each of ours; then there thundered forth a salute of guns, almost drowned by the shouts of the multitude. The ministers and caboceers danced, and the eunuchs and ladies held cloths before the king. Men must not see the king eat or drink.

When the firing was over, Ahpolpoo-nomeh and Hie-tengah, the colonels, and many amazon officers, were introduced, and drank our health; in return, I gave them two kegs of rum. The chief of Dassa was then introduced: he was a prisoner on parole, the same chief that was uncivil to Mr. Duncan on his travels. We now took leave;

the king, in compliment, seeing us on our road. As he stept forth, the whole crowd rose as a man, fired off their muskets, and shouted; the din and noise was consequently terrific. They then closed round the king, whilst the bands played a quick step. When we had arrived at the end of the square he took leave, shaking hands and snapping alternate fingers and thumbs thrice. The mayo's retinue continued firing, shouting, dancing, and singing all the way to our residence in the mayo's enclosure — a small neat house in a retired part, having two orange-trees and a kitchen enclosed in a yard, and hence private.

No king could have been more civil or more condescending; yet, in all it was observable, that the visit of white men, and show of reception, amused his people and enhanced his own greatness in their ideas. In the journal of the customs the power of this king will be illustrated: suffice it here to say, as a military chief he is feared by all his neighbours, and the terror of his name is the strongest tie he has, and effects

far more than the strength of his army ever could. Africans have but a poor means of counting; and, although their memory is retentive, cannot retain numbers, and beyond a thousand they have but little idea. These soldiers being yearly at war, have gained a fame that, if fairly tried, would soon be found wanting.

Presents to the king.

Oct. 18*th.*—Having made up my present (Mr. Duncan had made his on a former visit), I sent it to the king, with a message to say, that I had landed unawares, but had collected a small present at Whydah. It was graciously received. I sent a small donation also to the miegan, the prime minister, mayo, grand vizier, camboodee, treasurer, agaow, general-in-chief, e-a-wal, English mother, with similar messages.

Interview with the king.

Daylight had scarcely broken when, one after another, in came the sticks of the king, and every man of note in the town, even to Hee-tou-gee, the siloe's smith, inquiring after our health. Each was carried by two or three men; and as each man

required a glass of raw rum, and these inquiries are repeated every morning, in a long sojourn they become a great nuisance and a great expense. After breakfasting early by command, by 8 o'clock we were in full uniform in the palace square, which was now clear. The mayo immediately left us to be gazed upon by a collecting crowd, and to report our arrival to the king. In about half an hour, the great gate was thrown open, and, passing through an inner court, we were ushered into the *entrée* of a small room, ornamented with military arms and accoutrements. On a bed, covered with a very handsome mat, reclined the king. In the room were the female ministers squatted on the ground; while, as we advanced and the king rose, the male ministers — the mayo, camboodee, caoupeh, and Toonoonoo — prostrated and kissed the dust. Having shaken hands, we became seated, and the ministers rose from their degrading and disgusting position to take their actual station, without

whose concurrence the king cannot act. It is extraordinary that while the miegan and the mayo wallow in the mud in the royal presence, they have, if united, actually more power than their sodesque.

Conversation with the king.

After many compliments, his Majesty requested me to read the commander-in-chief's letter. Handing it to him, he broke the seal and returned it. I then read its contents piecemeal, so that the interpreters might the better explain it. His Majesty listened attentively; and then explained that he was not accompanied by those officers who should form members of so serious a palaver, but if I would attend his Customs, he would give an answer. He then dictated a letter to the commander-in-chief, in which he promised to give me an answer at the Customs. Asking if we intended to visit the market, he ordered ten heads of cowries to be sent with us to purchase articles with.

The fate of Dr. Dickson.

Mr. Duncan asked the king if he could acquaint him with the fate of Dr. Dickson,

the fellow-traveller of Clapperton. He informed us as follows:—Dr. Dickson appeared at my court, accompanied by the late cha-cha, Da Souza, at whose instance I furnished him with a guard of sixty men. After a short stay, during which he had the fever, and shaved his head, he set out. Arrived on the frontier, all but four men returned; the remainder, under the officers Ah-moo-soo, Ah-sok-bah, and Boogboo accompanied Dr. Dickson, through Chah to Noofee, on the road to Haussa. After leaving Noofee, all trace was lost, and none had ever since been heard of. He then explained that he was going, as soon as we left, to Tengee, to make a Custom to the memory of his mother.

Having drunk the healths of the king of Dahomey and the queen of England in champagne, we asked leave to retire, much pleased with the novelty of our interview.

As we left the palace gate, hardly a soul was to be seen in the square; but no sooner was the king outside, than thousands of

armed men flew from all sides and assembled, firing and shouting round the monarch. On returning to our friend's house, we changed our garments, and went to market and purchased some pottery, dresses, and country cloths.

Anagoo tradition.

Close to the market stands a monument to commemorate the subjugation of Anagoo. In Dahomey there are but few tracts in which stone is deposited: the Anagoos had a tradition, which they steadily believed, that when their enemies removed stones the country would fall. The Dahomans conquered them, and fulfilled the prophecy by causing the whole army, each (soldier and camp follower) to carry a large stone. Nearly all are granite in different stages of formation. Several of the royal family called, not without expecting and receiving a present.

Presents from the king.

Oct. 19*th.* — At six, a table was set outside our gate by the mayo, with wine and refreshments; and we were invited to listen to a salute fired. Having drunk the health

of his Majesty, soldiers stationed along the road hurraed, and a royal salute was fired; followed by two salutes of nine each, for myself and Mr. Duncan. During the royal salute, a party of the royal wives passed, and, headed by the aged minister, we had to leave the gay and festive scene, and hide our diminished heads — against a wall! Immediately after we received his Majesty's present, consisting of, to each, a bullock, cloth, ten heads of cowries, one keg of rum, one jar of palm oil, one calabash of flour, one of country soap, one of peppers.

To Madiki, the interpreter, two heads of cowries, two bottles of rum, one goat, one calabash of flour, one jar of palm oil. To Narwhey, two heads of cowries, one bottle of rum. To Majelica, head of followers, one head of cowries, one bottle of rum. To our kroomen, two heads of cowries; hammock-men, two heads, and two bottles of rum. Besides the above, every day we received about two bushels of food, palm oil, soaps, and dab-a-dab, &c. Mr. Duncan presented the king's weaver with a spinning-wheel.

He has the foot of a giant, and is extraordinarily clumsy. He has seldom been absent an hour, breaking the threads, leathers, &c., and drinks an awful quantity of rum.

Many people called; some bringing one or two yams as a present, all requiring a present in return. These presents are a terrible nuisance: the whole system is in donations, expecting more, at least an equivalent, and never satisfied. Mr. Duncan is a proficient on the Jews harp; and several old friends have called, bringing their instruments, and asked for new lessons. How quickly the black ear catches a tune! One man, Attah, plays all the old Scotch airs well. Strange as it may sound, in a barbarous African country, women are passing our door, like the gallegos of Lisbon, crying "See-dag-hee See" (sweet water, water). Close to the mayo's house are the city shambles. A good supply of meat is killed, considering the black races do not generally eat much animal food, "unless when they have not to pay for it."

The case of the krooomen. Our departure.

Oct. 20th.—Rose at daylight and packed up. A krooman entered our yard the day before yesterday, and, giving him in charge of my head krooman, I sent for the mayo. By some neglect the man was missed. He stated, in good English, that he and another were left of the crew of an English merchant vessel wrecked on the Popoe coast, and had been sold into slavery. No doubt remained in my mind but that he belonged to the mayo: who as stoutly denied all knowledge of him, and promised to search for him. This morning, being ready, the mayo sent to say we might go. I, knowing it to be his duty to see us away, sent to say we were awaiting his visit. In answer, he stated that he was attendant on the king, and that if we wanted to see him about the kroomen they should be sent to the Vice-Consulate when discovered. Fearing lest these men should not be considered as British subjects, I thought it best to leave the matter for the opinion of the government, and we left. Mr. Duncan

has been poorly for some days, but to-day evinced symptoms of suffering from dysentery. I walked to Cannah, a very pleasant walk, and there we halted to collect our baggage, and give Mr. Duncan rest. It was market-day; at the roads leading to the market stood tax-gatherers, demanding from five to ten cowries from all who carried goods to sell. Round one of the palace walls, called Allahwhey, was a rope of grass: this is a fetish against fire.

A king's court.

Oct. 21*st.* — Arrived at Allahbah, fourteen miles from Cannah, and near the swamps. Mr. Duncan very unwell. In the afternoon a terrible noise drew my attention, when, on examination, I found some of our hammockmen and the townspeople at a war of words. Presently the head of the town rushed in amongst them, prostrated, kissed the dust, and, taking his seat on his hams, all squatted down peaceably, scarcely a moment after. Narwhey arrived too late; and in a terrible passion he rushed on one of the hammockmen, and fairly pummelled

him; while the head man called to him to desist, and that his conduct was contempt of court. He fell back among the crowd, a quiet but enraged spectator. The cause was this: my kroomen had given one hammockman twelve strings of cowries to buy a large fowl, and the hammockman had paid eight. The woman, hearing that twelve had been given, after the fowl was killed demanded restitution or the money. A squabble ensued; and, lest the narwhey should take up the case, the head man of the town proclaimed a king's court, over which he alone, in his district, is judge. Several of the villagers made speeches, and condemned Narwhey's conduct. After fully proving the charge, in consideration of the prisoner being the servant of a white man, he was let off with paying the whole sum to the woman. The judge again kissed the dust, the hammock-men knelt and clapped hands in token of submission, then all kissed the dust and separated, and the king's court was thus dissolved.

Oct. 22*nd.*—Reached Whyboo, having crossed the swamp. Passed a man wrapt from head to foot in a cloth, and guarded. His guards told me he was "sick." At the sight of him the hammockmen ran into the bush, and beckoned me to do the same, and I was warned off in the king's name. This was either a culprit sent for commitment to Abomey, or a captured slave; I should infer the former. Arrival at Whyboo.

Oct. 23*rd.*—Reached Allahdah; whereupon the governor sent me a present of two fowls, twelve eggs, six yams, and some clean water.

Oct. 24*th.*—Reached Torree. Mr. Duncan very ill. Sent to the British agent to beg he would not salute when we arrived. Visited the cabooceer, who was engaged with fetish men making a chair.

Oct. 25*th.*—Arrived at Whydah, the British fort. Mr. Duncan immediately went to bed with, what we thought and treated him for, dysentery.

Visited the viceroy, who prostrated before the king's stick. Having hired a house

in the town, I had scarcely retired to it when I was astonished to hear twenty-one guns fired from the British fort; and for what, forsooth? In honour of a present given by Domingo José Martins to the king, of thirty puncheons of rum: a distribution in all to the value of 5,000$, to the king, cabooceers, the late Da Souza's family, and people. Three pipes were run in the public square for the mob to wallow in.

Oct. 26*th.*—Domingo José Martins sent Mr. ——, the "black" before alluded to, with his compliments, to offer me anything his house afforded. Signor Tacinta de Rodriguez, the Madeira merchant, was very kind in assisting me to make up medicines for Mr. Duncan.

José Martins' house.

Oct. 27*th.*—Called to thank Martins. His house is well furnished, but a mere show-house, he living in a small place adjoining. He has a large European garden and fine orange grove. He kindly placed his canoe-men at my disposal, which, as the British factory have none, I *per force* gladly accepted.

Oct. 28*th.*—Visited the viceroy to take leave, intending to embark on the arrival of the first man-of-war. After many demands for small articles, on my return I took leave; he explaining to me he would acquaint the king with Mr. Duncan's illness, and offering native doctors and medicine, if required; adding, all you white men are doctors, and the worst of you better than the best of blacks. On passing from his house (the grass very high) I observed, within an inch of my leg, a small lizard with its eyes fixed. It did not move on my approach. At the same moment a cobra darted at it, and before I could raise my stick, bore it away; rather a narrow escape from death.

The peal from the bells of the Portuguese Catholic church are ringing merrily. What a pity they are not responded to by the chimes of the more simple—a Protestant—place of worship! Kingfisher anchored.

Oct. 29*th.*—Having communicated with Captain Haiberg, he came on shore accom-

panied by his surgeon, who decided on taking Mr. Duncan off at once. Having procured canoes, we all embarked, not sorry to be again afloat. Poor Mr. Duncan, with so many old friends (he had taken a passage in the Kingfisher) to welcome him, brightened and appeared for the remainder of the day almost recovered.

Sail from Whydah. Death of Mr. Dun-

The Kingfisher fired a royal salute in honour of the king of Dahomey, and in return for the one fired at Abomey in honour of her Majesty. Mr. Duncan dangerously ill. On the arrival this day of her Majesty's ship Bonetta, I sailed for Sierra Leone; where, shortly after, I heard, by the arrival of a prize taken by her Majesty's ship Kingfisher, that three days after embarkation Mr. Duncan had fallen a victim to his attack. He died of a liver complaint; the disease aggravated by poison inhaled in opening the horse of Da Souza. He was a most enterprising man, and worthy of the remembrance of his countrymen.

By this very prize, the prize crew em-

barking on board, the Bonetta's crew suffered severely from small-pox; and, after a trip across the trade winds to Ascension, arrived off Whydah at the time named by the king for his Customs, the description of which will form the subject of my future Journals. Return to Whydah.

PART III.

JOURNAL DURING A SOJOURN ON SHORE IN WHYDAH, FROM FEBRUARY 27TH TO MARCH 31ST, AND A DESCRIPTION OF WHYDAH.

Return to Whydah, and hire a house in the town.

Feb. 27*th.*—LANDED and visited the viceroy. Was informed that his Majesty was still at war, and the time of his return uncertain. That about the time for the march, several high officers had died, and, paying respect to their memory, had detained the army until the latter end of January. When the king went to war, no one knew aught about his proceedings until he announced his return, which announcement would come from Cannah; and as he had been detained, the probability was the Customs would be put off.

Having explained to the viceroy that, at the king's desire, I had landed at the time appointed, to visit him at his Customs, and

that I bore a suitable present, in the name of her Majesty, which I had purchased at Sierra Leone, I told him I should not re-embark until I had heard of his Majesty's return, and received the announcement of some definite period to return on shore.

The viceroy told me his Majesty regretted much the death of her Majesty's vice-consul Duncan, and that immediately he heard it, he had sent his command to him, ordering him to proceed to the British fort, where he had sat a whole day while his retainers fired to Mr. Duncan's memory. That his Majesty had also sent a large country cloth, a piece of blue baft, a piece of white baft, and a piece of handkerchief, as burial clothes, and six heads of cowries to set a table, *i. e.* a wake, which articles had been given to Mr. Aberdeen.

Desiring quiet, and determined to live regularly, I hired a house in the town in preference to taking up my quarters at the fort; and while my kroomen were getting it in order, embarked on board her Majesty's ship Kingfisher.

Excursion to Little Popoe.

March 2nd. — Landed at Little Popoe, an extensive slave port, but one in which the trade might be easily stopped by erecting a fort on a tongue of land which commands at once the lagoon communication and the sea beach. I need only refer the reader to the chart to see that Little Popoe and Quittah are but a light march apart, and adjoined by lagoons.

The state is a republic, or rather the province of a republic. The chief or president lives at a large town at a little distance; while the town of Little Popoe is divided by the lagoon into Ajado, the slave town, under Portuguese directors, and New London, under a president (Mr. Lawson), whence palm oil is shipped.

The lagoon.

March 3rd. — Pulled a little distance up the lagoon — a perfect labyrinth, filled with trade canoes. Indeed there appears to be a very brisk trade carried on here; and at the chief's town is one of those large markets common to Central Africa. On the banks basked several large alligators, and flocks of wild ducks passed within shot.

There is much fish in these lagoons, and beds of fine oysters, and shoals of shrimps; although during the last half of the dry season there is a great deal of water but slightly brackish.

March 4th. — There is one terrible drawback to Popoe, it is the most filthy of towns. The stench is fearfully strong, and must render it unhealthy. The houses are badly built; that in which I am living forms the four sides of a square, and for some "wise" reason, doubtless, all the apertures open on the inside, so that the air breathed is close and confined. One side is so old they are unroofing it, rendering the habitation of the other dangerous from the unhoused snakes, centipedes, scorpions, and all other delightful tropical household companions; another side is occupied by Mr. George Lawson, who, as agent for Messrs. ——, carries on a palm-oil trade — I believe the dirtiest of all trades — and the aroma from his side is not the most preferable; while the fourth is a stable and

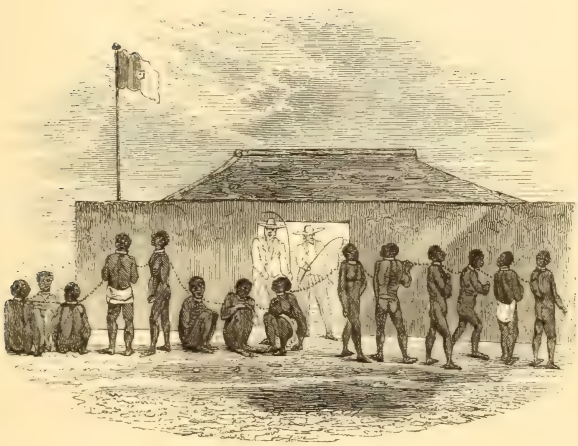
sleeping-house for the blacks, many of whom have the small-pox!

March 5th. — The shallowness of the water in these lagoons precludes the probabilility of any boat being constructed light enough to navigate them during the dry season. During the rainy period the prevalence of fevers and small-pox materially lessens the probability of any constitution enduring these pestilential lakes.

Mr. Lawson and his history.

March 6th. — Visited Mr. Lawson, who was got up for the occasion. He is a little old black, with a most astonishing memory, suffering under a severe hernia. He was a native of Popoe, but educated in England, and became steward of a slaver in the time of its legal trade. Besides his pay, he had a shilling a head for each slave, as interpreter to the doctor. Seven months made the voyage to and from the port of Liverpool, landing the slaves at Jamaica.

The captain died. The mate, on the return, married the widow, with a fortune of forty thousand pounds and two daughters.



THE SLAVE CHAIN.

Charlotte had ten thousand pounds, and Mary nine.

In those days the same care was taken of the slaves on the passage as of any other cargo, at least in Mr. Lawson's ship, and there was no delay. In 1812 he returned to Popoe. He has a large family, some living as Portuguese, others as Englishmen. On the eighth of February last a schooner shipped here.

Slave branding.

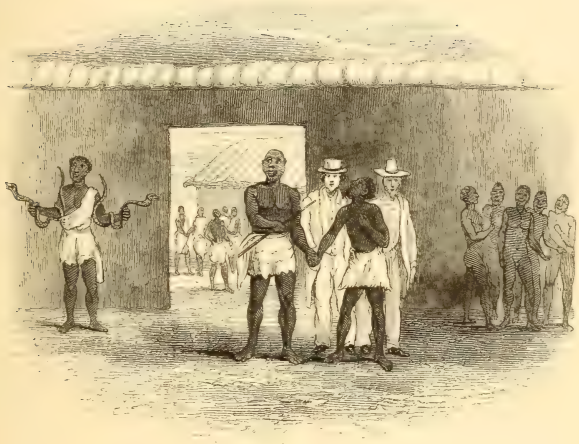
Up to noon the pinnace of her Majesty's ship Ranger had been in sight, when she ran down to Argwei. At four, the schooner anchored close into the surf, laid out a kedge, and by a rope to the shore hauled the canoes to and fro: all was excitement and drinking. As her cargo was not the property of one merchant, the slaves had to be branded, and a Dutch tobacco-pipe was called in and ingeniously used in branding them with different marks, intended to represent the letters C, O, E, and X (the whole, the half, or the two halves of the bowl of the pipe). In one hour and a half she was on her return voyage.

Excursion to Argwei.

March 7th. — Went by lagoon in Mr. Lawson's canoe to Argwei. At this slave-port, almost a monopoly of José Almeida, a vessel was expected, and the natives undisguisedly exposed their uneasiness at our appearance. Argwei is a republic, and as far as I could ascertain, ruled by a senate, with no direct head. Mr. ——'s agent was most civil, and kindly lent me a covered canoe to proceed in to Whydah.

Extraordinary instance of powers of the fetish priests.

An extraordinary instance of the power and pertinacity of the fetish people was illustrated here last month. In a heavy tornado, the flag-staff of the English factory was struck by lightning, in a curved line, nearly to the ground. In the immediate vicinity was a store of powder, to remove which was the first care. In the mean time, the fetish people assembled round the factory and loudly demanded admittance, which being refused, they paraded the streets of the town, declaring that they had caused the fetish to destroy the flagstaff as they were "hungry;" meaning that the agent did not fee them; and that



THE FETISH MAN AND THE GOVERNOR OF WHYDAH.

if he did not they would kill him: that this was the third warning.

The first warning was when the present agent landed at Badagry for provisions, and while on shore his ship blew up; the second, the loss of the Medora, lately wrecked on the Volta river. With regard to the latter, the fetish people of Volta and Accra had had some dispute, when the former warned the other, and told them that in revenge they would have an Accra trade-ship.

If it can be believed, one of the agents to the oldest established house on the gold coast is initiated into the mysteries, and is a fetish man! This man was formerly master of a trader; and on the master of the Medora taking leave of him at Accra, speaking with regard to the change of tide consequent on the Harmattous, that were then blowing, he remarked, "you must hang to the southward or you will chance to be on shore on the Volta." His words were prophetic, and as such claimed by the devils incarnate, his brother fetish men.

The next day they resumed their threats, and demanded the injured mast. Having entered the factory-yard, one of the party ascended to strike the heel of the topmast; which he did by the run. The "holy" men now became afraid, and left, declaring that if they were not fed, they would certainly destroy the factory. By the advice of the chiefs, the agent compromised the matter at a loss of about 200 dollars' worth of goods. Argwei is a small, not over clean town, although an extensive trading port. It has one peculiarity—the streets, like those of Passagos, in Biscay, are passages under the houses, or rather through them.

Left at 5 P. M., and poled down the lagoon all night.

Description of Whydah.

March 8th. — At 9 A. M. arrived at Whydah. Since daylight to 7 I walked along the lagoon without shoes or stockings, the water just above the ancles; and although we poled in the middle and in the deepest water, the canoe, which drew about a foot and a half water, was constantly aground in the night. My kroomen whom I left be-

hind tell me that 500 slaves were marched this week to Argwei.

Whydah is a most extensive city, consisting of seven or eight separately governed towns, although the viceroy of Whydah is the chief of all cabooceers.

The first of these is

French town, governed by Dagbah, the Viceroy.
2. English town „ Hie-chee-lee, Cabooceer.
3. Portuguese town „ Boognon, Ditto.
4. Cha-cha town (Ajudah) „ Gnodefereh, Ditto.
5. Market town „ Ah-poo-dehnoo, Ditto.

Besides these, there are free towns for the liberated Africans, and a new town lately built to the eastward.

One of the benefits of these divisions is that, for instance, all the people in English town are servants "to hire," but out of respect to English visitors any number that is required is sent, and the head men of the town procure the labour.

The house of the cha-cha.

The principal building is the cha-cha's house, a large ill-built erection of no particular form, occupying one side of the

principal square; and, as nothing can be cleanly in Africa, opposite, occupying a side of the square, is a corral for cattle, seldom cleaned, except by the animalcula of the exuviæ that decay breeds. The cha-cha's house I had imagined was a palace, in which a prince in wealth rolled in luxury, such it has been represented; and if dirt and filth constitute luxury, it is an elysium. Every article of table or bed-room furniture was of solid silver; but the state of the finances at his death proved the exaggerations of his flatterers, as he died enormously in debt. Isidore Da Souza, the present cha-cha, is ordered by his royal master to pay the "legal" debts of his father, but not his debts to slave-dealers. Strange command from the king of Dahomey! illustrative of the cunning of the king, who foresaw in the payment of extensive debts a probable decrease of tribute.

The late cha-cha, Da Souza.

The late Da Souza arrived a poor man. He left Rio from some political crime, in which he had the choice of incarceration

or desertion of his fatherland. Although an extensive slave-dealer, he was not without good points; and one was, his excessive kindness to all English visitors, either government officers or others. He introduced Dr. Dickson to the king, and gave Mr. Duncan the wherewithal to purchase a welcome (being at the time too ill to accompany him), and was attentive to Mr. Cruikshanks.

The best trait in his character was in his discountenancing human sacrifice, which he is said never to have witnessed, and in abolishing death as the punishment for killing (by accident or otherwise) a fetish snake. Now, the unfortunate criminal has to enter a house of straw covered with palm oil, to which a light is set, and thence to run the gauntlet through the fetish priests, who belabour him without mercy; and he is not free until he reaches water in which he washes out the sin. On these occasions the late cha-cha is said to have attended with his personal slaves, who, with

pretended zeal, mixed with the crowd and hustled round the offender, and saved him many blows.

Houses of the great men.

The best building in the town is the residence of Domingo José Martins, a well furnished house, standing in an orange-grove. Antonio Da Souza has a Chinese-built house, more ornamental than useful, in which he receives visitors. The forts, three in number, are all old and dilapidated. In the British fort is a fetish house of some antiquity,—strangely placed! About the forts are cleared areas, and, if in repair, they would be well capable of defence from an African army. So long as they remain in merchants' hands they are virtually a disgrace to the flags that fly from their walls. The viceroy's house is a mere enclosure of huts and one spacious court, shaded by several giant cotton-trees, in which his Excellency receives visitors when not immediately on business, lying at full length on the damp ground.

Fetish temple.

The lions of Whydah are the snake fetish house and the market. The former

is a temple built round a huge cotton tree, in which are at all times many snakes of the boa species. These are allowed to roam about at pleasure; but if found in a house or at a distance, a fetish man or woman is sought, whose duty it is to induce the reptile to return, and to reconduct it to its sacred abode, whilst all that meet it must bow down and kiss the dust. Morning and evening, many are to be seen prostrated before the door, whether worshipping the snakes directly, or an invisible god, which is known under the name of "Seh," through these, his representatives, I am not learned enough to determine. In different parts are smaller temples covering deities, in shape, rude clay figures of men.

The market. The market is the finest I have seen in Africa; well supplied with every luxury and many useful articles. As there are no shops, all trade is carried on here; and the market is divided into appropriate proportions for each description of article. The meat, fish, corn, flour, vegetable, fruit, and foreign goods have all separate markets.

It may not be uninteresting to know the prices of the various articles:

	£	s.	d.		Cowries.
Turkey - -	0	7	0	=	4,000
Guinea-fowl - -	0	1	9	=	1,000
Fowl - -	0	0	7	=	280
Pigeon - -	0	0	5	=	200
Chicken - -	0	0	5	=	200
Duck - -	0	1	3	=	600
Bullock - -	2	0	0	=	25,000
Sheep - -	0	8	0	=	5,000
Goat - -	0	6	0	=	2,500
Beef, a pound - -	0	0	3	=	120
Pork, ditto - -	0	0	2	=	80
Mutton, ditto - -	0	0	$2\frac{1}{2}$	=	100
Egg - -	0	0	$0\frac{1}{4}$	=	10
Orange - -	0	0	$0\frac{1}{10}$	=	3
Yam - -	0	0	2	=	80
Crabs - -	0	0	$0\frac{1}{4}$	=	10
Fish, a pound - -	0	0	5	=	200
Vegetables, green, a pound -	0	0	$0\frac{1}{20}$	=	2

DRINKABLES.

Rum, a bottle - -	0	0	6	=	240
Pitto (country beer), a gallon	0	0	1	=	40
Palm wine, ditto -	0	0	1	=	40

The house of a rich native differs in nothing from those of the commonalty,

except that the wall encloses a larger number of huts.

The cha-cha is the principal agent to the king in all matters of trade; and to him must be subjected all commerce, whether in slaves or palm-oil, that he may have the refusal. The price is laid down by law, subject to his alteration if concurred in by the viceroy and six traders or superintendants of trade appointed by the king. These are: 1. Ah-boo-veh-mah, 2. Goo-vah-moh, 3. Oh-klah-foh-toh, 4. Toh-poo, 5. Ah-ha-doo-moo-toh, and 6. Boh-ee-ah. One or the other of these must be present at all sales to take the royal duty, which in palm-oil is about a gallon in a measure of eighteen. These men are not paid, but have the advantage of trading at the royal price, or ten per cent. under the market. They are besides political spies on the viceroy, and attend all conferences, reporting directly to the king any infringement on the royal prerogative. These are not the only spies of the viceroy; his hours of recreation are supervised by ladies of the

The cha-cha and king's agent for trade.

blood royal, presented by the king, whose reception is obligatory, and who also make private reports to the king or his ministers.

The viceroy and the Fetish.

March 10*th*. — Called on the viceroy, and had a long conversation with him about trade. Coming events cast their shadows before them. The viceroy of Whydah is not likely to be a friend at court, although he very politely asked me to be his fellow traveller when I went to Abomey. On leaving, a fetish man was passing the gate, with two large snakes. State officers in most barbarous countries find it more convenient to remain at home, except when duty calls them abroad. The burly officer was, according to custom, seeing me beyond his gate — and this was an opportunity not to be lost, — the fetish man addressed him at great length, in praise of his extraordinary liberality to the fetish, for which he had no doubt to pay handsomely.

Native slave merchants.

In Whydah there are five native merchants, who may be termed very rich. These are, according to their wealth, — 1.

Ahjohvee, 2. Narwhey, 3. Quenung, and two others, whose names I have lost. Neither in their dress, nor in any outward appearance could they be judged wealthy. Such show would expose them to the cupidity of the government. They own thousands of slaves, and have to supply whole regiments to the annual hunt. Ahjohvee has a large fetish house east of Whydah, situated in a pretty bosquet, intersected by pleasant walks, and fragrant in the dry season with the flowers of the cashew-nut tree, — by far the most pleasant place to walk in near Whydah.

Return of the king from the war.

March 11*th*. — All the town was gay, and all were firing off muskets, dancing, and shouting. A messenger has arrived to report that his Majesty has reached Cannah in safety. Narwhey came with the royal stick, to inform me, and with a message from the viceroy, that I might now send to his Majesty for information. I, therefore, despatched a messenger with a present of two brass musketoons to the king, reporting

my arrival, and requesting he would acquaint me when the customs would meet.

Don José Dos Santos.

March 12*th.* — Visited the premises of Don José Dos Santos, who, although a slave-dealer, is also a palm-oil purchaser to a great extent. He arrived here without a shilling, and now has an immense establishment, though I believe little capital; indeed, he is said to be in debt, owing to the uncertainty of his trade. Having once embarked in the slave trade, he is still a gambler, and his speculations often bring him in a loser. Don José has a plantation on which he manufactures oil. His yard was filled with traders, — some with only a gallon, others having slaves loaded with large calabashes of oil; while dozens of his own slaves were counting out cowries to pay for the produce.

March 13*th.* — Arrived her Majesty's Ship Bonetta. Went on board for a few hours. This was market-day at the four-day market at Forree; and all Whydah was on the road, carrying foreign cloths, salt, saltfish, rum, and tobacco, to exchange for

corn, palm-oil, peppers, live stock, fruits, vegetables, and country cloths.

The trade of Whydah

March 14*th.* — The foreign trade here is much confined. The slave trade consists in gin, rum, tobacco, romauls and other cloths, muskets, powder, flints, cowries, handkerchiefs, hardware, and glass, in large quantities; a less quantity of wine, sugar, and iron-bars; and a few silks and superior articles. The oil trade comprises many of the above-named articles, besides smaller articles, such as perfumery, inferior jewellery, and ornaments. The exports from Whydah are slaves and palm-oil. Country cloths, peppers, corn, ivory, and shea-butter can be procured in small quantities.

Manufacture of palm-oil.

Visited a very extensive palm-oil plantation belonging to Ahjohvee. It lies to the eastward of Whydah; and very little labour is added to the gifts of God in procuring this valuable and lucrative article of trade. On the estate are many establishments, slave villages, for the manufacture, which is very simple. The nut is first boiled, then, thrown into a large recess, and

trodden out: then boiled again, and the oil is collected. The nut within is a very nutritious article of food, tasting like the cocoa-nut.

Dialogue with the viceroy.

March 15*th.* — Visited the viceroy, and found him reclining at full length in his shaded court-yard. In the course of conversation I endeavoured to impress upon his mind the advantage that would accrue to the king, if, instead of sacrificing or selling his prisoners of war, he retained the labour in his own country, and he would soon see his advantage in this, and the folly of enriching a foreign and distant land at the expense of his own natural resources. I explained to the ee-a-voo-gan that each had the interest of his own sovereign doubtless at heart, and that we had better leave the question open until we appeared in the royal presence.

The king's answer.

March 16*th.* — My messenger returned, and was brought to me by the viceroy in state, whose retainers saluted me by keeping up a continued fire of musketry in the yard. After the usual prostration, he gave

me the king's thanks for the present, and my congratulations, saying —

"That I had better take a walk and come back, *i. e.* go to sea. 'This moon must die, next moon die, then five days come on shore,' or on the 15th of May."

This morning, in my walk in the street called "Zoh-mahee," "Fire-cannot-enter," I met a chain-gang belonging to José Almeida, ready for marching to Popoe. I understood, as soon as they saw me coming, the drivers marched them in.

Neglected state of religion at Whydah.

March 17*th.* — Sunday, but little differing from any other day, except in the gay attire of the liberated Africans, who, as a mark of civilisation, keep the sabbath day by dressing out in all their finery. It is the great pride of a black to be of the white man's religion; and all, either from Bahia or Sierra Leone, call themselves Christians, and, no doubt, in the common acceptation of the term, are so. If one might so decide, they, at least, are in a happier position than when following the religion of the land, worshipping the snake, or the leopard, the

fetish of Abomey. Though but nominal Christians, we will not insult them by calling them pagans. The safety of their souls demands immediate and strenuous exertions on the part of true Christians. A very trifling sum from the general stock would support a chapel; and then the derision of the Bahias would not fall on their Sierra Leone neighbours, who, having a Roman Catholic church in the Portuguese fort, deride the *soi-disant* Protestants as being without the pale of their church. Nor is this the worst part of their position. The half-educated black returns in pride to his country, a *savant*, a monkey that has seen the world, to be a useful or a mischievous one as fate may decide. Those landing at Badagry meet pastors and masters, and, in all the pride of "the title of white men," would not miss the chance of attendance on prayers: those landing at Whydah — "it is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous" — have no head, no church. A Sierra Leone African is always looked upon as a spy; and — "the last state of that man

is worse than the first" — he cohabits with women of the country, and returns in time to their and his natal idolatry.

Absence of missionary labour.

How inconsistent it appears, that in positions where the slave trade rules, there is no missionary labour. Such places ought to be the points of honour. The "Black" priests from the island of St. Thomas preach to large flocks, and converts are frequently made. The slave trade does not interfere with them, nor do I think it would materially with a Protestant mission; and the more "Black" priests are ordained and employed in Africa, the further religion will extend. Whydah never, even in the palmy days of trade, had a Protestant place of worship. Besides the Roman church in the Portuguese fort, there are the ruins of a chapel in the French fort, now converted into a powder-magazine. I trust ere long those Africans, whom the *amor patriæ* leads to return to Whydah, may not have to give up the fruits of the labour of the good pastors of Sierra

Leone to vitiated appetites, re-acquired for want of one to guide them.

The system of presents

March 18*th*. — The viceroy sent his eldest son with his "friend's stick," and a present of some palm-oil and beans-cake, a sort of compliment cake only cooked for the official people. These little compliments are never properly understood until they are ten times paid for. In Dahomey all preliminaries are settled by presents, and no matter can be arranged unless commenced by a gift. It is the worst country a poor man ever travelled in, for the sprat is baited so often that the mackerel is dearly purchased — if obtained. In all semi-barbarous countries it is the same, and, in other words, visitors cheat themselves to rob the rulers of the land, who otherwise would impose upon them. "Poverty is no crime:" — a Dahoman would soon give that the lie, if applied to a foreigner.

The diseases of Whydah.

March 19*th*. — Disease in Whydah is a despotic tyrant, and holds a divided sway, at one time tyrannising over the whites,

at another over the blacks. Just now he is chastening the blacks, among whom much sickness prevails, while, except from a bilious fever, not dangerous, the whites are free. In June and July, he changes colour, and the whites stagger under the effects of the power of the sun or the miasma from stagnant pools of recently fallen rain. The atmosphere is pregnant with foul smells, and the very air is tainted.

Servants in Whydah, and their pay.

March 20*th*. — I have been clearing my yard, and paying labourers and servants. Talk of India! the Indian is a happy man with his servants. Here not only will one not clean your shoes that cleans your knives, but the master, if he would have his work done, must keep on the watch and see that his orders are executed. Yet when the rates of pay are considered, Reader, you will not be astonished that they do so little. As I cannot suppose in any *endroit* in the known world labour is cheaper, I give the following list as much as a curiosity as a guide to future visitors.

	Heads.	Cowries.	
Head man of under 20, or a man who measures oil, per month	6 or	12,000 = 22*s.*	And provide themselves.
If more than 20 in a gang, 2 head men, —2nd, at per month	4 or	8,000 = 13*s.*	
House servant, per day		280 = 7*d.*	
Cooper, ditto		280 = 7*d.*	
House builder, ditto		100 = 2½*d.*	
Hammock-man		120 = 3*d.*	
Carrier of goods, if not per job		120 = 3*d.*	
Slaves are subsisted by their masters, and receive no pay; their subsistence costs, at a liberal allowance comparatively		20 = ½*d.*	

Canoe-men are of a different class, being Accras. If hired by Portuguese, and enter for two years' service, —

	Heads.	Cowries.
On taking service they receive 1 roll of tobacco	= 8	= 16,000
On leaving service, 10 pieces of cloth	= 10	= 20,000
10 dollars	= 12	= 24,000
and weekly for subsistence		560
or 2*d.* a day and 1 bottle of rum.		

Canoe men hired by Englishmen: —

	Heads.	Cowries.
Head man, per month, 4 pieces of cloth	= 4	= 8,000
Canoe-men, per month, 2 ditto	= 2	= 4,000

Besides, each, 560 cowries, 1 bottle of rum a week.

Cowries, the currency of Dahomey, are passed in fifty strings of forty each to the head or nominal dollar. It is remarkable that in all barbarous nations where money is known, the currency is decimal! Iron

bars four to the head, rum half-a-head a gallon, and cloth form a currency dependent on the market. All gold and silver is current at a valuation, but scarce.

Pic-nic with the Da Souzas.

March 21*st.* — The Souza family having invited me to a pic-nic, and promised to show me a European plantation, — started at noon in hammocks, and, at a distance of three miles to the westward, found they had not exaggerated their description. A splendid palm-oil plantation was before me, thickly set with palm trees, intermixed with corn, cotton, yams, and cassada, according to the soil; the ground being undulating, — sometimes high and dry, at other places oozing and low. The proprietor was a liberated African from Bahia, originally a Mahee; and the plantation in the highest order. Arrived on the ground, we smoked a cigar under the shade of a cluster of palm trees, while the lord of the soil brought specimens of the palm nuts for our inspection. In about an hour the Da Souzas were all fast asleep on mats; presently awaking, a canteen was produced,

and I was asked to partake of some Brazilian rum (casash), which good breeding even would not allow me to accept. Understanding but slightly Portuguese, I began to think I must have mistaken the invitation, and felt satisfied there was some misunderstanding when the contents of another box were exhibited — some meat cooked in rancid oil, biscuit, and yams. I, with pretended *goût*, joined in the repast, and, after another cigar, gladly took a walk round the grounds, not in the best of humours, imagining that I had rather grievously mistaken the meaning of the invitation, or been well paid for accepting one from a slave-dealer. By a circuitous path, we again came to the palm copse, now like the oasis of the desert, a welcome spot. The charm of Aladdin's lamp could not have wrought a greater change: a milk-white cloth was spread on mats, and was now covered with every delicacy — wines of France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany; whilst every article, even to the coffee cups and saucers, was of solid silver.

March 22*d*. — The king's messenger arrived to-day, to summon the Da Souza family to Abomey. The ee-a-voo-gan goes also. Domingo Martins declines the invitation. The object is to choose a cha-cha from among them. Isidore has the money; Ignatio is backed by Domingo Martins, who has great power with the king; and Antonio is the king's favourite: thus the king has to choose between wealth, power, and friendship. What will the black Napoleon, the destroyer and maker of kingdoms, do in this emergency? The choice of a cha-cha.

March 23*d*. — Having become acquainted with, I was going to say, every stone—but there are none!—in the Whydah roads,—with every tree (the finest of which, by the by, is a noble structure of nature, the fetish tree, a huge cotton giant of the forest, on the Abomey road), — I threw myself into my hammock, and, falling asleep, awoke at Savee, from whence I took a long walk, and returned in the evening.

March 24*th*. — In describing the two palm-oil plantations, I think I have gone Agricultural progress in

Whydah — burning of the grass.

to the extremes; but the Whydah people are justly famed for their agricultural pursuits. Just now all the country is in a blaze — the dried, high, grass is burned, and the ashes left for manure; while, at the same time, the burning element destroys the overgrown animal and reptile kingdoms, and rarefies the atmosphere. When the land is under cultivation, it has the garden appearance of Chinese agriculture.

Customs duties at Whydah.

March 25th. — Why I know not, but it is a fact, that all appear ashamed of the custom duties they pay his Majesty of Dahomey. Ask the British agent! — as well have asked Ananias for truth. Ask a Portuguese, and you touch his risible faculties — you fairly make him laugh. A return, therefore, it would be impossible to give. I do not think the duties on legal trade sufficient.

Preparations for departure.

March 26th. — Presents in Dahomey are looked upon with a jealous eye. At this time, to embark my present for the king would be suspicious. There was only one course. Feeling certain in my own mind

that I ought to return, I resolved to leave the "present" with the viceroy. Accordingly I received a receipt from Dagbah, the viceroy (*Anglice* Calabash, the most useful of vegetable African productions), and prepared for embarkation.

March 27*th.* — Even Whydah has its attraction. I am almost imagining myself sorry to leave it. The English town-people are my sworn admirers, and yet I have employed only a few of them. 'Tis pleasant to live beloved, even in outward show; and there appears a good deal of that with these Whydah people. I tell them I am going: they only hope some government officer (could it not be yourself?) would be sent to govern the fort. They have remembrances of happier days when they had a definite master: now they are everybody's servant. Well, be it as it may, liking or disliking, I shall be sadly disappointed if I do not return.

The beach at Whydah.

March 28*th.* — The great drawback to trade in Whydah is the frequent inaccessible state of the beach, at all times unap-

proachable except in the Accra canoe for trade goods, or the Kroo canoe for messages. Sometimes for weeks the beach is closed. All goods shipped for Whydah should be hermetically sealed, if possible. The other difficulty is the distance of the town from the beach and the intervening lagoon.

I experienced much difficulty in the want of a canoe, and generally overcame it, when I wanted to forward a letter, by one of the boats of Her Majesty's ships coming to the edge of the surf, and a Krooman swimming to and fro with the despatch.

March 29th. — Visited the viceroy, who begged I would not be far away, in case the king should send for me. Told him that I intended going to the Island of Ascension, and would be back at the time appointed; which he begged I would, as the king might imagine some mistake had arisen, and hold him responsible for my reappearance.

My house and landlord.

March 30th. — Received presents of fowls and goats, &c., from a number of blacks who had become acquainted, and

had been in the habit of calling on me. Sent all my traps to the beach. My house deserves a remark. As usual, Madiki, considering himself a rich man, has a large enclosure, while, on the other hand, as an "ee-ah-voo," he could not do less than have a white man's house. He owns ten slaves, and has a large plantation. From the estate he cut timber, and the slaves fashioned it; they next dug the clay, and made what is called the "swish," which is mixing the red clay with water and straw to make it more adhesive: and of this all houses are built in Whydah. Then they set to work and built a house, thirty feet high, eighty long, and forty broad; having in it three principal and four small rooms, besides two verandahs. They next cut the dry grass, and thatched it; then procured the oysters from the lagoon (probably subsisted themselves on the natives), and with the shells whitewashed the building. The whole was done in a year, and is well worth the value of the slaves (who all the time were subsisted from the plantation);

not costing the proprietor a halfpenny. My argument with him was (and as my interpreter he might have made good use of it), Do you not see the value of labour? Had you sold those slaves the money would probably now be gone; now you have the slaves and the money too — all in one year, and every year you might so increase them in value. He saw it, but did not think the king could, as, how was he to commence? It is the commencement that is wanted. This house is of no personal use to the owner, so he is glad to have a tenant.

Embarkation and departure.

March 31*st.* — Embarked on board Her Majesty's Ship Bonetta, and proceeded to the Island of Ascension, to join the commander-in-chief, and receive instructions for my future guidance.

REFLECTIONS

ON

THE SLAVE TRADE

AND THE

MEANS FOR ITS REPRESSION.

Sir John Malcolm, in his Embassy to Persia, comments with approval on a remark by an old naval master, when speaking of the subjects of the Imaun of Muscat. "Manners," said the master, "they have none, and their habits were disgusting." The reader will already have been able to judge, would this not form a concise account of the manners and customs of the Dahomans. I account myself as fortunate in not being the pioneer in depicting the extraordinary court of the most warlike of African slave-hunters, — a monarch whose

whole existence depends upon the slave trade, whose every exertion is to supply a larger number to the market of the preceding year, — a monarch whose power is almost absolute, directly and yet indirectly so extraordinarily balanced that, to use a common expression, his head is not safe for a twenty-four hours' insurance.

The Dahoman amazons.

It is rarely that Europeans are called upon to believe in the existence of amazons, — fighting women prepared to do battle on all around, the terror of the neighbouring tribes, dressed in the attire of male soldiers, armed with muskets and swords. These sable ladies perform prodigies of valour, and not unfrequently, by a fortunate charge, save the honour of the male soldiers, by bearing down all before them, discovering themselves to the astonished and abashed prisoners to be women, exceeding their male coadjutors in cruelty and all the stronger passions.

Excited by the hopes of reward, the evil passions of man are fearfully developed in Dahomey. Blood-money is the sure reward

of valour, the price of blood the only fee; and it matters not if the prisoner is brought alive to the monarch, as his reeking head is almost equally valuable. Without a trophy, such as a prisoner or a head, the soldier had better have been killed; disgrace, and often condign punishment, follow to the defaulters of either sex.

There is not a more extraordinary army in the known world than that of the military nation of Dahomey. The nucleus of the national power, the throne, is occupied at the pleasure of the militant people, who claim an annual war as a birthright. If, from want of courage, or any other insufficient reason, the monarch dares to dispute the will of his people, he, who could by serving the vitiated appetites of his soldiers have taken the lives of any, high or low, is as surely dethroned and murdered.

In speaking of the two armies, let not the sensualist imagine that a Dahoman campaign is disgraced by a freedom it would

almost be natural to suppose to belong to so curiously disposed an army, half male half female. On the contrary, the latter are in charge of eunuchs, officered by their own sex, and scorn the softer allurements of their nature. To use their own words, "they are men, not women! their nature is changed! they will conquer or die!" Such expressions could not be openly used, even as mere boasts, by women standing in a jealous position, emulating the most daring acts and achievements of man, unless fundamentally true; and with the certainty of being openly contradicted, and brought to shame, by their fellow-soldiers of the opposite sex. Such then are the amazons, in whose chastity we may believe, when we bear in mind that the extreme exercise of one passion will generally obliterate the very sense of the others. The amazons, while indulging in the excitement of the most fearful cruelties, forget the other desires of our fallen nature.

Superstition assists in the preservation of the chastity of this most singular army.

The amazons are accommodated within the precincts of the harem walls, and when abroad share the honour of royal wives. The bell announces to the traveller that he must not gaze on them; and thus they have not much opportunity of joining in conversation with the opposite sex. On the thresholds of the royal portals a charm is set of so determined a nature as to render *enceinte* the offender religiously believing its existence. The frail amazon not infrequently sickens, and confesses the seducer's name, though fully aware that the decapitation of herself and her lover is the immediate result.

Rank, to a certain height, in the army, is obtainable by merit; but beyond that there is no means of rising except as a speculation, keeping a regiment and volunteering their services at the annual hunt; all the higher ranks being hereditary.

The great bearing aimed at in giving these Journals publicity, is to offer to the reader an opportunity of judging for himself of the fearful state to which the slave

trade has arrived in that portion of Africa of which Dahomey is a kingdom, and of the extraordinary innate civilisation which exists among the blacks, and which, if worked upon, would considerably ameliorate the condition of the African. It is a country of remarkable contrasts in its customs and manners. For the price of one dollar the grand vizier will decapitate an unoffending prisoner of war, whilst the more civilised viceroy of Whydah, who from commercial intercourse proves the power of example, will pay one fourth of that sum to public functionaries to undertake the fearful office. And yet the same high officer studies and understands an etiquette that would do honour to the most civilised courts in Europe, and renders the courtier himself (if divested of the disgusting ancestral habits) a gentleman of nature's mould. It may seem singular to the general reader, that the prime minister's office should be that of headsman, but such is only consistent with the early histories of many European nations, and, together with many

of the appointments about the court, proves that the court of Dahomey is much upon the same standing that those of northern Europe were before the light of civilisation shone upon them, and discovered their evils and nakedness.

The slave trade and the means for its destruction.

How many schemes are and have been offered as infallible destroyers of this fearful evil, many in the main correct, yet differing sufficiently as to render them apparently opposed! All men of education must be moral haters of the iniquitous traffic; but it is not always that education can carry a man's ideas above the advantage of his own interest; and no doubt the interests of this country—I mean the monied interest of the manufacturing portion—are for the time better answered by the existence of the slave trade than they would be by its repression. Such, however, would not be the case on the consequence of its failure, and the rise of legal trade, the extension of commercial intercourse, the civilization of Africa. The multiplicity of wives enjoyed by the king

and his officers, and the selection and separation of thousands of virgins as amazons, leave but few females wherewith to increase the population; whilst the hundreds of thousands of skulls that ornament the palaces, the annual introduction of 60,000 slaves into Brazil, at an exportation of at least 180,000 from Africa, unite in tending to decrease the numbers of the people rapidly, and thus render the demand for manufactured goods, or, in other words, for trade, less than it would otherwise be. Look at the method employed to feed this traffic. A war of extermination is decided on by a giant army on an unoffending town. We all know by histories of recent wars with civilised troops what are the horrors of a protracted siege, or of the excitement incidental to a mortal conflict. How can we wonder then at the fearful tragedies constantly enacted by the Dahoman armies, when the price is honour or disgrace; a head or a prisoner, or to be publicly spat upon by some self-lauding amazon in the ensuing council?

These wars are directly and instrumentally the acts of the slave-merchants of Whydah and its neighbouring parts; but have they no higher parties on whom to lay the blame of their actions? are these, the agents of larger houses, the instruments in the hands of parties who have other means of disposing of their goods, to bear the whole blame? Truth is strange but a truth it is, that the slave trade is carried on in Dahomey and the neighbouring kingdoms with British merchandize, and, at Porto Novo, the residence of the monarch of slave dealers, by British shipping direct. I do not mean to say that if British goods were not obtainable, the traffic would cease to exist; but the taste for British goods runs high, and if these could not be purchased with slaves, palm-oil would be manufactured to obtain them.

Discontinuance of legal trade

Thus the discontinuance of trading with the slave ports would afford most important aid in the reduction of the horrors of the slave trade. Except with the natives for palm-oil or other native produce, the system

of trading with the interior kingdoms is in pawns, or domestic slaves, saleable on the sea-coast to the highest bidder. But with these pawns a dawning of civilisation has illustrated that the African is not even by nature the brute he is generally believed to be. Should the pawn become a parent, neither the parent nor the child can be forcibly expatriated.

The blockade.

It is by no means impossible to stop the slave trade, but the means to be employed must be unceasingly applied. Blockade is one of the means, a portion of one system; and, by its increase and the adoption of steam, a mighty one. Under the term blockade, I include the whole coercive actions of the British fleet against the Brazilian slave trade, whether on the coast of Africa or Brazils. But the blockade, as it was two years ago, with one third more extent of coast, and more than a third less in number of vessels, only a small portion of which (in comparison the opposite) were steamers, was a very inefficient organ of an unconnected system,

that left it obvious to those most interested, that it would be almost impossible to check even a contraband traffic open to so extensive a demand.

The blockade is a great, though only a portion of the system that might and would overthrow the slave-trade. As now worked, with increased efficacy, the blockade renders the price of slaves high and the market precarious. But the slaves, already so dear in the Brazils, might be rendered considerably more expensive by the withdrawal of trade from the slave dealers, and the prevention of the sale of slave-grown produce in this country, and by enacting treaties of commerce with the chiefs themselves ; thus bringing into the market desirable articles of trade, requiring the extension of labour to produce, and consequently pointing out to the naturally cunning African monarch, that in order to be rich he must increase the number of his subjects, and not sell the source of his wealth, the labour of his people.

One third at least of the extent of the Social and

moral or coercive conquest.

slave coast has been already conquered by civilisation and legal traffic, and it requires perseverance alone to reduce the remainder. All the high roads to Central Africa, the Delta of the Niger, of which I count the Benin, the Camaroons, the Calabars, &c., have submitted to the laws of civilisation, and the inhabitants scout with disgust the idea of selling their fellow-men. Nor is this all; the heathen superstitions of the land are fast receding before the steps of Christianity. Between this Delta and the other portions of reclaimed Africa, Liberia and Gallinas, is the extent of coast of which Dahomey is the central and all-powerful kingdom, open to social and moral or coercive conquest, or both. The former would effect its object by intercourse and trade together, aided by the morals and example of the settlers and traders; the latter would exact treaties requiring the expulsion of an evil at once disgraceful in the sight of God and man. The two means of conquest, if combined, would first destroy the evil, and then set up such a de-

mand for the produce of the land as would, as it has in the rivers above quoted, render it impossible that the slave trade should ever again offer its present powerful temptations. The lovers of peace may quarrel with the term coercion, but in its African sense there is no display of military discipline. Those portions of Africa whose inhabitants have seceded from the slave traffic have done it partly from coercive measures, and partly from moral effect; but the former measures have been simply used to the foreign slave-dealer, and the latter to the native, whose benefit has been materially studied, although perhaps not satisfactorily so to his grasping nature as at once to be developed.

The material argument against such coercion as was lately enacted on Gallinas is, that life is unsafe. I do not look upon Africa as the deadly continent it is the fashion to describe it. Men enter Africa determined to have fevers; and, like the phantom's story in the Persian fable of Cholera, fear kills them. Less cant on the

subject of African diseases would materially assist to stop the slave trade, and render African enterprise more genial.

The moral course.

That the stoppage of trade (all trade) would in a very short time put an end to the slave trade, the following journals will illustrate. Even the proud king of Dahomey succumbed to a threat, and, while his sycophants cried night and day, "Oh, king of kings!" gave up three prisoners, in fear of the consequences, when I threatened to stop his trade. The crusade against the slave trade is a holy one, and should not be abated one iota. Differences of opinion as to the best methods to be pursued, there must be, but undoubtedly the one most true will be that which calls for additional sacrifice on our part, and increases the difficulties to the Brazilians, by raising the price of their favourite commodities. Coercion alone cannot stop the slave trade; indeed, I much doubt that, if unassisted, coercion be not a mere blind, a phantom, a shadow, wanting the substance to make it tangible, increasing horrors without alleviating in

any way the condition of the African; and such, up to a very late period, has been the extent of operations actually brought against the slave trade, not, as now, when the system is strengthened by treaty, trade, and the advancement of civilisation. These three constitute the moral course whereby to check this great evil, which, with its physical auxiliary (assisted by treaties as well with the Africans as with the Christian powers), will in time crown with success the most philanthropic undertaking ever entered into in this world.

African love of trade.

The Africans are by nature great traders, and require this habit to be encouraged. If not supplied by legal trade, the mercantile traffic in slaves occupies their attention. Of this trade there are several classes, the highest of which is that of Dahomey, which, in a warlike view, has an approach of honor in it. In the ancient feudal times the prisoners were detained until ransomed, the conqueror deeming he had a right to enrich himself by his prisoners; but in Dahomey there are no na-

tives to ransom, and the Dahoman war becomes a war of extermination, and with the conquest falls the very name of the kingdom, never more to be revived. The more degenerate are those that have been easiest uprooted, and probably less lucrative to the gamblers — the sale of relations. Strength ever predominated, and the father either sold his son in his boyhood, or ran the risk of age changing the positions, when the son, now the strongest, bound the father and sold him to foreign slavery. Such scenes are even now at times enacted in South-western Africa, but the laws of Dahomey forbid such an unnatural sale of human beings.

Of all the nations of Africa, the greatest traders are those lying east and west of Dahomey; the Akoos on the one side, and the Kroos on the other. The Akoos are the Jews of Africa, and have several very rich representatives in Sierra Leone. The Kroos are the Gallegos, and prosper in parts where the natives starve, by undertaking any kind of labour, and performing it well.

There is no reason why labour should not be introduced into the central position, or that the neighbours of the Akoos should not learn the value of accumulating wealth.

Difference of trade with free and slave states.

With the Delta of the Niger on the east, and Ashantee on the west, Dahomey may be said to lie between the two grand pillars of the dethroned slave traffic. While in Dahomey silks are seldom imported, and nothing but the refuse of the market, greatly increased in price by the additional duties and freights of a voyage and landing *viâ* Brazils, is found in trade, it is far different with her neighbours. The most choice articles are selected, silks of India and China, corals of immense value, champagne and all the higher wines, silver and gold ornaments; in short, all the higher order of trade in its perfection is to be found on board some of the largest trading ships in the world, in the Bonny and its neighbouring rivers, in order to be exchanged for palm-oil.

Liberia and its slavery.

The Liberian people are doubtless held up as an example to the general state

of the African, but I prefer not instancing that state further than to prove I have not overlooked it. For in Liberia there is as much, if not more, domestic slavery — that is the buying and selling of God's image — as in the parent states of America, over which flaunts the flag of Liberty (?) It is difficult to see the necessity or the justice of the negro who escapes from slavery on one side, crossing the Atlantic to enslave his sable prototype on the other, yet such is the case: and so long as it lasts, notwithstanding the attractive reports that emanate from this new republic, it cannot be held as an example of future good, but, if possible, should be remodelled, even if at the expense of internal revolution, or even total annihilation. I doubt if many benevolent Christians in this conntry are aware, that the model republic is, in reality, a new name and form for slavery in enslaved Africa, and, until the system be altered, totally undeserving of the high support and liberal charity it receives from the benevolence of Englishmen.

The system of domestic slavery is by no means confined to the Liberian portion of civilised Africa. Pawns (as the fashion terms the slaves on the Gold Coast) are received and held by Englishmen indirectly, and are to all intents and purposes their slaves. The plan adopted is this: the merchant takes unto himself a *femme du pays*, and she manages his establishment. Nor does he inquire how she hires his servants. Her mode is to accept pawns, *i. e.* purchase slaves, by receiving man, woman, and child in liquidation of debt; in other words, selling goods to native merchants, who, for convenience, leave slaves in payment. These pawns are as directly slaves to their master as any slaves in the United States, but cannot be sold out of the country. I myself am aware of one *femme du pays* of a British merchant being the owner of forty pawns, who perform the household and other services of the master, and are, except in name, his slaves. His money purchased them, and they obey his commands on pain of corporal punishment,

The system of pawns.

and draw him to and fro in his carriage when taking exercise. How far is this removed from actual slavery?

Education in Africa.

The general reader may be astonished to find introduced in these pages a discovery of a written African language, of the Phonetic order, arranged entirely by a few natives of Vahie, by no means perfect, and extremely extensive, having upwards of 200 characters; it is no less a matter of wonder emanating from enslaved Africa. Education is a favourite pride of the African, and there are few in Sierra Leone, who have been brought there young, but can read and write. Men of eminence are now expounding the Gospel in their native languages, as ordained clergymen of the Episcopal Church, whose early sojourn and troubled life was passed in the lottery of foreign slavery. The most distinguished of these, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, chief of the Church Mission Society of Abeahkeutah, has translated the Gospel into several African languages. The return of such men, in the advanced state of education neces-

sary for an ordained clergyman must tend materially to civilise their relatives and fellow-countrymen.

Capacities of the African mind.

Instances are constantly occuring, illustrating the extraordinary capacity of the African mind. The island of St. Thomas sends forth hundreds of black Roman Catholic priests to many parts of Africa, and these sable fathers assist materially towards the great object, the civilisation of Africa. Acting, however, under the protection of the Portuguese government; the known connection of that people with the slave trade prevents the fathers from being often heard of out of the scene of their labours. The richest slave-merchant resident in Whydah, Don Jose Almedia, is an ex-slave, sold from the very port of Popoe, in which he now commands a monopoly. This remarkably clever shrewd man was educated in the Brazils, during the period of his slavery in that country.

If from each great slave state a selection of youths were made, educated in professional rule as clergymen, doctors, agri-

culturists, and artizans, these, returning to their countries, would soon assist civilisation and generate a contempt for sacrifice and slavery. The extraordinary contempt an educated black has for his unpolished neighbour is inconceivable, and it is the pride of all to attend Church-meetings to prove their education (not to mention a weaker pride of exhibiting their finery). These foibles, worked upon, studied, and humoured, might be rendered eminently serviceable. What the African particularly requires is example; for, be it good or bad, he will follow it if set by "The white man;" by which he means men of any colour, but educated. To such an extent is this idea carried, that the candidates for the police lists of Sierra Leone were very extensive; and on inquiry it appeared, that to be a policeman was at once to be a white man, *i. e.* to be removed from the epithet of "Nigger," associated with that state of semi-barbarism in which the black looks upon his neighbour. Such is their taste for finery and improvement, that I do not

suppose a finer-looking, or better-dressed body of militia exists than that of Sierra Leone. On a Sunday, in Sierra Leone, the churches innumerable are filled with well dressed, and even handsomely dressed, congregations, listening to discourses of sable ministers, I merely instance this to show what may be done by introducing education generally, and not to recommend the present system of negro preaching, which most assuredly requires supervision. So far does education interfere with the slave trade, that if a man spoke only a few words of English, he would be gladly turned out of a barracoon, being deemed by his unlawful master an educated and dangerous man.

Necessity for education before coercion.

There is one last and strong reason why a conquest of slavery should be effected by moral, rather than physical force, and tending to prove, that civilisation must precede any decided check unassisted by education. The slave-hunting monarchs claim an equal position with Great Britain as the greatest of white nations. How often have I been told in Dahomey, "You

make war on the Portuguese and beat them, we on the Attapahms and others with equal success. "These," said the mayo, pointing to two tumblers on the table, "are alike in size, in make, in shape; this is Dahomey, that England See, I turn round, and looking again I cannot distinguish; they are coequal, the greatest white and the greatest black nations. Your queen can conquer all white nations, Gézo can take all blacks." Such is their idea, gathered from the reports of the slave-dealers, who cause them to believe that we are a nation of pirates,—water-gods, in short. But, though feared for our power, we leave no moral impression upon the natives, by plundering, as they imagine, our Portuguese and Brazilian neighbours. All that we arrive at is, that the highest nation of Africa owns a respect, which may be also termed a fear, for the nations that can do to the whites what they can do to the blacks. What is wanted is education, 1st, to give the African an idea of the great moral force intended, at an enormous expense, to free him from the

chains of foreign slavery, and to cause him to believe (what in his uneducated state he has no conception of) that Great Britain dispenses an enormous sum to effect that object. 2nd. To enable him to understand the sacrifice he is making in selling labour from a country capable of providing for four times its population. 3rd. To put a stop to the fearful sacrifices of human life, and the devastating wars consequent on the slave trade.

Having prepared the African mind, the slave trade could not exist, even on demand from the Brazils, as, if the kings of Africa forbid the embarkation of slaves in their territories, the slaver could not trade, the slightest delay on the coast would be fatal, and the slave trade at an end. The measures recommended here may appear to require much time to develope, but such would not prove the case if once set in force. That the slave trade will be put a stop to without educational assistance, may be possible. Experience, however, seems to combine in proving the improbability of such a result.

THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.

The animal kingdom of Dahomey is very extensive, not only in variety, but in the dimensions of the animals themselves. The elephant, lion, leopard, range the forests in company with lesser brutes, while the hippopotamus and alligator render the approach to rivers and lagoons at least dangerous to the unarmed wayfarer.

I cannot, like my contemporary in South Africa, enter on a sportsman-like description of the "wild sports of Dahomey," yet it will perhaps appear novel, as I believe it has not before been published, that in this extraordinary kingdom the softer sex, besides being warriors, are also the enemies of the fiercest and wildest animals of the vast forests.

In most semi-barbarous states, the fiercest animal of the forest is by no means so dangerous as the idle and wilful man, who, fearing no law, ranges the jungle at war with his fellow man. Against such desperadoes the king of Dahomey guards his subjects, by decapitating on the spot the murderer or thief, and ornamenting the nearest tree with the ghastly skull — a warning to his fellow ruffians. As in India, a white flag marks the spot where a human being has been destroyed or attacked by a tiger. These remembrancers cause a momentary shudder, but give promise of protection to the traveller.

The Elephant.

The elephant of Dahomey is of immense size, and is held, like all the large animals, in religious awe. On certain occasions, or the grand festival, the flesh of the elephant is eaten by the king, and distributed by his majesty to the highest of his subjects.

Two regiments of amazons are styled rangers of the forest, and one part of their duty is to supply the elephant-flesh for these feasts, and the bones and skulls for

the fetish houses, while the tusks and teeth are sold to the merchants at Whydah.

The elephants are never far distant from water, which in the dry seasons is only to be found in the extensive marsh before described; and here the amazons generally succeed is shooting them. So scarce is water in the dry season in Africa, that, in parts of the Mosambique, the tusks of the elephants are obtained at the price of human life. When the large swamps become partially dry, with the remains of moisture towards the centre, to endeavour to alleviate the painful torture of thirst, the elephant strays so deeply into the morass that his strength fails, and, unable to return, he dies. Well aware of this, at certain seasons the Portuguese merchants oblige their slaves to dig for ivory in the swamps, and thus not unfrequently the diggers are destroyed by the gas of the marsh, and fall victims to the avarice of their masters.

Under the charge of a eunuch, but immediately under command of an amazon

officer, a party sallies forth, armed with muskets and bush knives. Arrived at the marsh, they succeed in herding a number of elephants, and, having selected the youngest, they surround and shoot them, seldom missing their aim, nor shewing the slightest dread of their formidable opponents. The selection having been made for the festival, the meat is cut up and sent to Abomey, while the amazon chasseurs employ themselves in killing for their royal master's emolument. They have no idea of entrapping the elephant, nor will they be taught.

The late Mr. Duncan having a commission from the Royal Zoological Society, endeavoured to interest the king of Dahomey to obtain him a live elephant. Such a thing was impossible. He could understand the elephant falling into a pit, but to get him out and lead him he could or would not believe possible.

The Lion, Leopard, and Patakoo.

The lion is oftener heard than seen in Dahomey. Now and then, in the neighbourhood of large fetish houses, and in the *entrées*

of the palaces, the skulls and jaw-bones of these royal beasts are found. In consequence of the number of wild beasts, all cattle are housed at night; and, unless on very especial business, no man travels after dark. Uninterrupted they prowl about even within the streets and yards of the towns and villages, sometimes, although very seldom, enticed by the odour of a dead carcass into a trap. The carcass is divided among the friends of the lucky owner; the skin sold at Whydah; the teeth become the most valuable of ornaments to both sexes; while the skull and bones are a well-received offering to the fetish, and gain for the donor no slight privileges. Of higher value are the portions of the leopard, the fetish of Dahomey. The law does not forbid the killing of these sacred animals, but ceremonies have to be gone through with the fetish people, that render it an inconvenience to the matádor, which he will not incur a second time if possible; nor is the leopard often killed, except when he falls into the trap intended for the more noble wanderer, the

lion. Should man fall a victim to the leopard, in the belief of the Dahoman he is gone to the land of good spirits; and, far from endeavouring to revenge his death, his relations will if possible feed his devourer. The only other carnivorous animal of any size is the African wolf, the patakoo. These animals are very bold, entering the very squares of Whydah, and often attacking children, I have seen them under my hammock, eating the bones left from supper, while sleeping in the verandah of a house at Torree. They have a fearful howl, and are generally in flocks, snarling and fighting after their prey. No wall is high enough to deter them, although to a certain degree they are cowardly. The native boy, if within hearing of the patakoo, will, to insure safety hold an article of clothing or piece of wood over his head to make him appear larger. These animals are often trapped, and their teeth used as ornaments, but seldom shot except by the amazon bush-rangers. Wild cats are numerous and de-

structive to poultry, &c. Monkeys of all sizes dispute the more lofty and thickly wooded portions of the forest with birds of the most beautiful plumage; while snakes of every size and various formation dispute the lower with every description of reptile. A tropical forest is all life, animation, and strife; and no sooner is life departed from one of the larger inhabitants, than the lion, the leopard, and the wolf may be seen feasting side by side, while the turkey buzzard and the monkey now and again steal smaller portions from the feast of their dread enemies.

The White Ants and Locusts.

The most striking and extraordinary things met with in an African forest are the ant-hills, standing sometimes eight and ten feet high, in which are miles of passages and millions of cells, stores of food and heaps of eggs; nothing can be more ingenious, nothing more curious. One family of ants, the bug-a-bug, is of the most destructive order: there is nothing they will not enter and destroy that is left on a ground floor; but as they never reach

above, casks and furniture are placed on raised platforms. Of all the animal creations in Africa the most destructive are the ants. Swarms of the white ants migrate in more terrible form than the locusts, which are also a curse of Dahomey; for while the locust is graminivorous, and remains without the doors of dwellings, the ant defies all hinderance, and, entering even the key-holes, is omnivorous. As in most tropical countries, the very air is alive. Butterflies of the most beautiful hues form the most pleasing of the insect kingdom; while, in the wet season, the European is almost maddened by the effect of the poisonous bite of the mosquito, scarcely more annoying than the unharmonious buzz of these amphibious gnats. That the bite of a mosquito is poisonous to certain constitutions not a doubt can exist. I myself have known two instances in each of which a limb has been lost by irritating the bite of these obnoxious mites.

Snakes.

The boa constrictor does not grow to a large size in Dahomey, nor are they of a dangerous description. Among the many species of reptiles the cobra capella is the most dangerous. Yet although we consider the bite of the cobra deadly, the native has an infallible cure for it, but those who are initiated are jealous of their knowledge. One of my hammock-men had been bitten three times, and his father was a doctor. Walking one day through some long grass, I pointed to his bare legs, and hinted at his danger. "None," said he; "my father picks some grass, and if, on the same day as the bite, his decoction is applied, the wound heals at once." Strange as this may appear, it did not seem so to me, having witnessed the fights in India between the cobra and the mongoose. The cobra has always the advantage at first; and the mongoose, apparently vanquished by the deadly poison, is no sooner bitten than he retreats as far from his enemy as possible, but on devouring some small herb which grows wild, and is easily

found, he revives, renews the attack, and conquers.

The bite of the whip-snake is here deadly as elsewhere. Centipedes, millepedes, scorpions, tarantulas, &c., fill up the host of reptiles, and from the constant communion one is surprised that he escapes.

Birds.

The parrot is by far the most extensive of the feathered tribe, from the grey parrot to the beautiful green love-bird. In plumage the variety is most extraordinary, and, as they flit in the noon-day, the gaudy beautiful colours add to the grandeur of the scene. By the margins of the lakes and swamps are seen the stately storks, the cranes, the curlew, the pelican, and the prince of African birds, the crown bird. On the broad calm waters are wild ducks, teal, and widgeons; soaring aloft in the neighbourhood of towns, the turkey buzzard and members of the eagle tribe, to both of which a superstition is attached by the natives—a certain dread of consequences if destroyed—enforced by the government in order to retain these useful scavengers.

Fish. The waters are by no means less inhabited than the land; and while the inaccessibility of the sea renders the productions thereof of difficulty to the Dahoman, the inland waters are prolific in the extreme. The hippopotami and the alligator are to be seen basking on the banks of the large lagoons, instinct leading them to the deeper parts, in which they ever hide from the sight of their common enemy man. But in Central Africa the wanton destruction of the works of God is happily no part of the nature of the native: that enigma, the fetish, appears a patron to all wilder animals and forbids their destruction, while the African is a friend to all the weaker kinds, and fond of domesticating all kinds of birds and animals. Thus it is perhaps that but little fear is entertained for the wilder beasts, and perhaps from not appearing in opposition, accidents are of rare occurrence. I remember seeing a huge brute lying on one side the lagoon at Popoe, and inquired of the Kroo of my canoe if there was any danger to a party of black urchins

who were bathing on the opposite side. None he told me: once, indeed, but a long time ago, a boy's leg was bit off! The hippopotamus will never attack a man, and remains a harmless inhabitant of the lagoon so long as he keeps away from the cultivated portion, which, for his own safety, taught by instinct, he rarely visits. The lagoons swarm with fish, shrimps, oysters, and add considerably to the delicacies of the Whydah market. The Dahomans are good fishermen, and not bad shots, yet they could teach the more enlightened Christians a lesson in sporting. Few, if any, of the denizens of the field, the forest, or the water, are safe from their guns and their fishing-tackle; but, when they take the lives of the brute creation, it is not for the miserable satisfaction of destroying numbers or merely proving their prowess, but solely to satisfy the imperious demands of nature or custom.

RELIGION, ETC.

The civilised state of a nation may be judged of by its religion — from the simplicity of its doctrines and the absence of all enslavery of its communicants. The reformed Catholic religion is the faith of the most enlightened nations (portions of every quarter) of the globe. Compare these with the followers of Confucius, the believers of the incarnations of Buddh, or the more numerous worshippers of the prophet Mohammed; it is the comparison of light and darkness. Yet in all religions there are some familiar forms which render them not so absolutely distinct to the semi-civilised, as to be observed without a long course of teaching.

Buddhism

Confucius foretold that a Prophet would

arise in the West, and the Chinese hearing that a holy religion had been established in the neighbouring continent of India, sent ambassadors, who brought back the Buddhist rubric, and many priests of the "San Foo," or trinity of the incarnations of Buddh. The Jesuits, on entering China, to propagate their faith, met this religion. The trinity in unity, the presence of the Virgin, the form of worship, with bell and candle, by shorn and sandalled priests (in priestly robes), who practised celibacy and kept fasts and vigils, called forth the remarks recorded by Father Ripa, that the Buddhist religion must have been invented by the devil to puzzle the Jesuits. Such an observation, emanating from an eminent Jesuit father, needs no comment, but proves the similarity, in outward show, between the Romish and Buddhist religions in those days; and although the Buddhist religion is not even understood by the priests themselves, who mutter prayers in the Sanscrit, yet it rendered it difficult for the Propagandists to prove to the Chinese

and Mohammedanism.

that in their search for the prophet in the West they had stumbled on the false Christ, and that the prophecy of their cherished and revered founder of the moral and civil code of divine law was by a mistake perverted. The Mohammedan religion, spreading over the vast continent of Africa, is gaining millions of converts, and, agreeing with the wild and fearful fetish belief of the remainder of the inhabitants of the whole of Central Africa, in the plurality of wives and the right of retaining slaves, is welcomed far before the home truths and self-denial to be enforced by the missionaries of the Catholic faith. What the Roman Catholics may do in Africa in establishing an hierarchy there is yet to be proved; but in the land of the Buddhists and followers of Confucius, they left them a portion of their primitive belief, and admitted, in the prayers allowed for the dead, the direct worship of ancestors. The Africans practise in a ruder form a worship for the dead, attended with human sacrifices. They believe their relatives to be in

the same rank of life in the land of spirits they held in this, and as such to require wives, servants, and slaves; and to insure their comfort, numbers are immolated on the tombs, and often willingly sacrifice themselves to join their lords in the other world. In common with most barbarous nations, such is the belief of the world to come in Dahomey, and it is one reason for the continual fearful sacrifices.

The Fetish and its sacrifices.

As has been stated in the accompanying Journals, the fetish or imaginary god of Dahomey is the leopard; and the skin and head of this fetish are the king's by right, should one be killed, but woe betide the killer, better had he murdered a fellow-being, as in punishment he is sacrificed to the offended deity. This animal (under the name of paugh leopard), the "voo doong," or fetish, represents upon earth the supreme or invisible god "Sĕh," and, in common with thunder and lightning, "Soh," and sundry wooden images, is worshipped by the ignorant Dahomans.

The sacrifices are various; if of a bullock

it is thus performed. The priests and priestesses (the highest of the land, for the Dahoman proverb has it that the poor are never priests) assemble within a ring, in a public square; a band of discordant music attends; and after arranging the emblems of their religion, and the articles carried in religious processions, such as banners, spears, tripods, and vessels holding bones, skulls, congealed blood, and other barbarous trophies, they dance, sing, and drink until sufficiently excited. The animals are next produced, and decapitated by the male priests, with large chopper-knives. The altars are washed with the blood caught in basins; the rest is taken round by the priests and priestesses, who, as Moses commanded the elders of Israel (B.C. 1491), "strike the lintel and two side posts" of all the houses of the devotees, "with the blood that is in the basin."* The turkey buzzards swarm in the neighbourhood, and with the familiarity of their na-

* Exodus, i. 12.

ture gorge on the mangled carcass as it is cut in pieces. The meat is next cooked, and distributed among the priests; portions being set aside to feed the spirits of the departed and the fetishes. After the sacrifice the priesthood again commence, dancing, singing, and drinking; men, women, and children, grovelling in the dirt, every now and then receiving the touch and blessing of these enthusiasts. Among the priesthood are members of the royal wives and children. The mysteries are secret, and the revelation of them is punished with death. Although different fetishes are as common as the changes of language in Central Africa, there is a perfect understanding between all fetish people. The priests of the worship of the leopard, the snake, and the shark, are all initiated into the same obscure forms. Private sacrifices of fowls, ducks, and even goats, are very common, and performed in a similar manner: the heads are taken off by the priests, and the altars washed with the blood; the lintels and sides of the door-posts are

sprinkled; the body of the animal or bird is eaten or exposed for the sacred turkey buzzards to devour. The temples are extremely numerous, each having one altar of clay. There is no worship within these temples, but small offerings are daily given by devotees, and removed by the priests.

Diseases.

Sickness is prevalent among the blacks, smallpox and fever being unattended by but bad practitioners in medicine. And here let me remark, that, after teachers of the Gospel and promoters of education, there is no study that would so well ensure a good reception in Africa as that of medicine. The doctor is always welcome, and, as in most barbarous countries all white men are supposed to be doctors, I worked some miraculous cures with James's powder, diarrhœa powder, and quinine, but am convinced bread pills would have answered as well: the patients believed and were cured.

If an African sickens he makes a sacrifice — first a small one of some palm-oil food. Dozens of plates of this mixture are

to be seen outside the towns, and the turkey buzzards, horribly gorged, scarcely able to fly from them. If the gods are not propitiated, owls, ducks, goats, and bullocks are sacrificed; and if the invalid be a man of rank, he prays the king to permit him to sacrifice one or more slaves, paying a fee for each. Should he recover, he, in his grateful joy, liberates one or more slaves, bullocks, goats, fowls, &c., giving them for ever to the fetish, and henceforward they are fed by the fetishmen. But should he die, he invites with his last breath his principal wives to join him in the next world; and, according to his rank, his majesty permits a portion of his slaves to be sacrificed on the tomb.

The observance of circumcision is as in the covenant between God and Abraham*, "that every man child among you shall be circumcised." "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised;"

* Genesis, xvii. 10.

" and the uncircumcised man child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people." No maiden in Dahomey will take to her bed a husband who has not been circumcised.

The king tolerates all religions; but in a negative manner the Mohammedan form of worship is the only strange one practised in Dahomey. But in Whydah the Roman Catholic religion is exercised by some black priests from St. Thomas; and the Reformed Church might be represented in any or all her sects. As yet there are no missionaries except the Romish. Mr. Freeman, of the Wesleyan church, visited Abomey some years since, and had more than one interview with the king, but has not since returned, nor have any other Protestant missionaries visited Dahomey. The present increased state of the legal trade in Dahomey has rendered that country open for the reception of religion and education, which combined would necessarily tend to the decrease of the slave trade. The Mohammedan religion has also a church at Why-

dah. Although there are many mallams in Dahomey, and they are to be seen in all the processions about royalty, yet, owing to the jealousy of innovation and the ignorance of the mallams, who are mostly Dahomans, and but ill-instructed priests, the Mohammedan religion has made but little inroad among this extraordinary people, who are, in religious matters, in a state of the most barbarous idolatry.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

From the great King Trudo Audati's Palace of Abomey, in the kingdom of Dahomey.

Nov. 27. 1724.

Sir,—About five days ago, the king of this country gave me yours of the 1st instant, and immediately required me to answer it in his presence, which I did, though in a very indifferent manner: so that if I do not recall it, I hope you will excuse that as well as this.

As to the late conference I had with his majesty on receiving your letter, I think he does not want to make a price to let me go; for when I pressed him much to tell me on what terms he would send me away, his answer was, he did not want to sell me, I was not a black man; but, upon my again pressing him, he made a sort of jesting demand to the sum of I think 700 slaves, about 10,000*l.* or 14*l.* a head. Which strange ironical way of talking, as I told him, made my

blood run cold in my veins; and upon recovering myself, I asked him if he thought the king of my country, and that you and the company, would think both he and I had lost our senses, should I have writ any thing like what he said. Upon which he laughed and told me not to put any thing of that in the letter; for that he would order his head captain of trade to treat with you upon that subject, and that if you had not something very fine for him at Whydah, you must write to the company. Upon which I told him I found I must die in his country, and that I would only send for a few clothes and necessaries, which I desired he would let his people bring for me; and he agreed to it: so that I don't find there is any other way of redeeming me than by the company's sending him a present of a crown and sceptre, which must be paid for out of what remains due to the late king of Ardah. I know nothing else but what he will think mean, being stocked with great quantities of plate, wrought gold, and other rich things; and also all sorts of rich gowns, clothes, hats, caps, &c. He has likewise all sorts of common goods beyond measure, and gives away booges like dirt, and brandy like water; for he is prodigious vain and proud, but he is withal, I believe, the richest king and greatest warrior in this part of the world; and

you may depend upon it, in time will subdue most of the countries round him. He has already set his two chief palaces round with men's skulls, as thick as they can lie on the walls, one by another, and are such as he has killed in war; each of which palaces are in circumference larger than St. James's Park, about a mile and a half round.

He talks much of settling a correspondence with the company, and of having white men come here, which you must encourage him in, and tell him the way to do it, which will be to send me away; for he says he wants ships to come to some place only for slaves, and bring such things as are only fit for such a king as he. To all which I gave him the hearing, and which, if you humour, may be a great means to help me out of this wretched state. I hope my royal master will take my case into consideration, and think of the long and many sufferings I have had in their service, and what a miserable condition I am still in, as it were, banished all the pleasures of this life, not only from my wife and other friends, but all conversation in general; so that I am like one buried alive from the world, and think nothing can come near my unhappy fate, to lose my time, and spend my youth as it were for nothing in such a cursed place as this, and not

see a likelihood of getting out of it, but that I must end my days here. To prevent all which, I hope that they and you in their behalf will use your utmost endeavours by such means as are requisite for my deliverance, which I shall very impatiently pray to God to bring to pass.

Governor Baldwin promised me in his last, upon his arrival in London, he would lay my case before our royal masters. Therefore, when you write, I beg you will remind him and them thereof, and note the contents of what I now write. If any letters come from England for me, I believe either them or any thing else will come safe to my hands by this king's people. He is very willing I should have letters come to me, or any thing else. Nor will he be guilty of any mean action in keeping any thing from me, if it were twenty slaves. Neither do I believe he would detain any white man that should come here, but me whom he deems a captive taken in his wars. He sets a great value upon me, he never having had a white man here before, only an old mulatto Portuguese, which he bought of the Popoe people, at the rate of about 500*l.* as near as I could compute. And though this white man is his slave, yet he keeps him like a great caboceroe, and has given him two houses, and a heap of wives and servants. It may be that, once in two

or three months, he mends (he being a tailor by trade) some trifle or other for his majesty, but after the devil of a manner. So that if any tailor, carpenter, smith, or any sort of white man that is free, be willing to come here, he will find very good encouragement, and be much caressed, and get money if he can be contented with this life for a time, his majesty paying every body extravagantly that works for him. And then it might be one means of letting me go with a promise of returning to trade with him; but he now says, if I go, he does not know whether he shall see any more white men, thinking they add to his grandeur; so that if any fellow whatsoever comes up and goes down again, it will possess him with a notion, that more white men will come, and so let me go in order to encourage their coming. Or, if my little servant, Henry Tench, be at Whydah, and is willing to come to me, it may in time be much for his interest, as now, being a boy, the king will be entirely fond of him; for though I do nothing for him, he has put me into a house and given me half-a-dozen men and women servants; also a constant supply to maintain myself and them. If I loved brandy, I might soon kill myself, having enough of that; also of sugar, flower, and the like. And when he kills oxen, which is often, I am sure of a quarter, and some-

times a live hog, sheep, or goat; so that I shall not starve (but this is nothing, I still want content. And when he comes out in public, the Portuguese and I are called to sit all day in the sun, only our boys are permitted to hold our kidey-solls or umbrellas over our heads; but then he pays us pretty well for it, sometimes giving us two, sometimes three or four, grand cabess * a piece, and a huge flask of brandy to drink there, besides one or two more for each to carry home; so that the Portuguese and I endeavour to live as well as we can; and think it enough if we can keep up our hearts and ourselves in health. But being weary of this wretched life, sometime ago requested his majesty to put me into the hands of his great captain of war or general, give me a horse, and let me go to war. To which he would by no means agree, saying he did not want me to be killed, for that he should anon find other business for me; wherefore, he would have me be easy, and sit and see what he does: the meaning of which, I do not at present understand. My going to war was, likewise, much opposed by the aforesaid general, who al-

* Forty boges make one tokey; five tokeys one gallina; and twenty gallinas one grand cabess, equal in value to one pound sterling.

leged that, if I should be killed, it might bring a pallaver upon his head, and make the king angry with him, as thinking him to be the occasion of it. However, his majesty ordered me a horse, and told me, whenever he went out, I should go with him, which he often does for his pleasure, in a fine hammock with gilded awning and curtains. He likewise very often adjourns to some other of his palaces, which are some miles distant hence; and I am told in number eleven. In this labyrinth, I am willing to make life as comfortable as possible; but as it is very uneasy to ride a bare horse, I pray you will not fail to send me an old furniture with spurs and whip. The king has likewise desired me to write to you for the best horse furniture that is to be got at Whydah, and he will pay what you shall demand for it; likewise, a little English dog, and a pair of shoe buckles, and if you think well of it, you may charge them to me with the following things, both for the king and myself, being assured that even a trifling present will not only be acceptable from me, but very much increase my interest, whether I stay or go, which at the shortest must be very long. I therefore beg you will not fail to send me what is to be got of them, which may not only make my unhappy state a little the better, but make his

majesty conclude there is no thought of ransoming me, and so send me home in some of his majesty's whims.

If my two chests, left at Jacquin, are yet come to Whydah, I pray they may be sent to me with everything in them, good and bad: also the following things, if to be got on any reasonable terms, viz., &c. &c. [of no use to the reader, and too tedious to be inserted].

I hope you will not scruple sending anything I write for, as not having received any salary or diet-money, since I have been in Guinea. Nor would I have you admire at my sending for so many things, seeing his majesty has ordered another house to be built for me at a town he mostly resorts to when he is preparing for war, which fills me with melancholy thoughts, and looks no way like my going out of this captivity speedily.

If you think well of my agreeing for any slaves with the king, you must talk with his servants thereon, and send me a mark *, for while I am here I am willing to do the Company some service, if possible, their interest being always what I shall study to promote to the utmost of my power; but then I must have a

* Thirty-two pounds.

specie of all sorts of goods, marked and numbered with the rates, to prevent mistakes. Most of the ink you sent me being unfortunately spilt, I beg you will send me a paper of ink-powder. His majesty has likewise got from me the greatest part of the paper, having a notion in his head of a kite, which, though I told him was only fit for boys to play with, yet he says I must make one for him and I to play with; so I beg you will send me two quires of ordinary paper and some twine for that use, and a score of match, his majesty requiring me sometimes to fire his great guns, and I am much in fear of having my eyes put out with the splinters. He has twenty-five cannons, some of which are upwards of a thousand weight, so that a man would think the devil helped to bring them here, this place being about 200 miles distant from Whydah, and at least 160 from Ardah. His majesty takes great delight in firing them twice round every market day, only now that his people are making carriages for them; and, though he seems to be a man of great natural parts and sense as any of his colour, yet he takes great delight in trifling toys and whims; so that if you have anything of that kind, I pray you will send them to me, or any prints or pictures, he much loving to look in a book, and commonly carries a Latin mass-book

in his pocket, which he had from the mulatto; and when he has a mind to banter any body out of their requests, he looks in his book as studiously as if he understood it, and could employ his thought on no other subject; and much affects scrawling on paper, often sending me his letters; but then he sends an interpreter with a good flask of brandy and a grand cabess or two.

If there is any cast-off woman, either white or mulatto, that can be persuaded to come to this country, either to be his wife or else practise her old trade, I should gain his majesty's heart entirely by it, and he would believe anything I say about my going and returning again with more white men from the company. I pray you will comply with as much of this letter as possible, which may be much for my interest. As to any one's coming, they need not fear his using any compulsion, having at least 2,000 wives, which he maintains beyond any black king, and suffers them to do nothing but for his own use, in his own house or palace, which is as big as a small town; and when 160 or 200 of them go with small pots for water, they one day wear rich silk waist-cloths, called * * * *; another day they all wear scarlet clothes, with three or four large strings of coral about their necks, and their leaders sometimes in crimson, sometimes in green, and sometimes blue

velvet clothes, with silver gilt staffs in their hands, like golden canes.

When I came here first, the Portuguese had a mulatto * * *, who his majesty used with abundance of good manners, continually giving her presents. He gave her two women and a girl to wait on her. But she dying of the smallpox, he wants mightily more to come, and says that no white body shall ever want anything he can purchase for gold. He likewise gives great encouragement to all black strangers, and is extremely kind to some Malay people who are now here.

This country is mighty healthful, lying so very high, and is daily refreshed with fine cool breezes. It is likewise extremely pleasant, having all Great Popo in view, though at a vast distance; neither are we pestered with mosketoes.

I hope I shall have a better opportunity to describe the power and grandeur of this conquering king, which has often surprised me, not thinking ever to see any thing like it in this part of the world. I shall therefore conclude my letter with a short account of that war, whereto I was an unfortunate eye-witness, and from whence I saved nothing in the world, but what I had on my back, and narrowly escaped perishing in the flames, being the fate of many hundreds; which I

had shared, had not a man hauled me over the wall of old Blanco's house, in which I was suddenly shut up as soon as the cry of war came. And were it not for that misfortune, I might had a chance to make my escape, which I suppose the king and old Blanco were afraid of; for which reason they sent to secure me. However, that house being the first they set fire to in the town, I got soon enough out to be a melancholy spectator of the ensuing desolation and destruction. Some time after I was hauled out, they carried me through the town to the king's house, where this king's general was, and though he was in a great hurry and flushed with victory, he took me very kindly by the hand, and gave me a dram, which was some comfort to me, though I knew not who he was: at first, I took him to be the king of Ardah's brother, but then I admired at his face being cut*, and the house being in flames; but I soon understood who he was. When we went out, there was scarce any stirring for bodies without heads, and had it rained blood, it could not have lain thicker on the ground. Night being come, I walked among crowds of people, with the general, to the camp,

* Some inland countries do cut and scarify their faces for ornament sake.

who after giving me two or three drams, gave me in charge to one of the petty captains of war, who was extremely kind to and careful of me. The next day they brought one of my boys to me, who was Captain Blanco's son, but he being mortally wounded in the head, so that his brains might be seen, was not able to let me know what they said. Two days after, the general called me to come and sit with him and the petty captains of war, while they counted the captive slaves, which they did, by giving a booge to every one: the whole amounted to upwards of two grand cabess, or above 8000 in number, among whom I saw two more of my boys; one of which was wounded in the thigh, and the other in the knee. This accident gave me an opportunity of a little more talk with the general, who endeavoured to hearten me up, calling for a flask of brandy. He drank to me, and bid me keep the rest: he likewise offered me some pieces of chintz sletias, &c., which having no use for, refused, telling them if they found among their plunder any shirts or clothes, I should be thankful for them, being, as you may suppose, very dirty.

The people to whom my servants were captives, would never permit them to come to me without coming with them; however, the general bid me not be uneasy at that in the least, for

nothing should hurt me till I saw the king his master, who would receive me extremely well and kindly, which, indeed, he afterwards did. The general gave me a kidey-soll and hammock to carry me up in the country, which I gladly accepted of.

Having seen so many cruelties committed on the bodies of old men and women, also on such as were not able to travel by reason of their wounds and burns, &c., I could not choose but labour under dismal apprehensions, particularly the first morning, when they led me out, as I imagined, to sacrifice me, with a drum beating a sort of dead march before me, and many hundreds gathered about me, jumping and tearing, enough to rend the very skies with such a noise as would fright the devil himself. Many had drawn swords and knives in their hands, which they flourished about me, as if ready for execution. While I was calling upon God to have mercy upon me, the general sent orders to the petty captain of war to bring me to him, being retired about two miles out of the camp. His orders were quickly obeyed, and I brought to him, which put an end to my fears.

I should have given you an account of my introduction to the king, had not his majesty sent this minute in a hurry to me for this letter, which

I cannot have time either to copy or correct, as I intended. I therefore beg you will pardon tautology and all other faults. Being, with hearty service to all the gentlemen,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BULFINCH LAMB.

B.

The Discovery of the Vahie Language and Vocabulary.

THERE is no greater difficulty not only to the traveller and the merchant, but also to the advance of civilisation and the destruction of that infamous traffic the slave trade, than the variety of African languages; and there can be nothing more desirable than to form one phonetic written language to command all or as many of the African dialects as possible.

It will appear strange that the Africans themselves are beginning to feel the want of a written character, and in the following instance it may

surprise the reader to find that negro enterprise supplied for their own peculiar dialect the Vei Phonetic. The following is a copy of the despatch reporting the discovery.

H.M.S. Bonetta, Sierra Leone,
Jan. 18. 1849.

Sir,

It has fallen to my lot to make a discovery of such importance to the civilisation of Africa, that I am anxious my own profession should bear the honour that it may deserve.

The discovery consists of a written language of the Phonetic order.

On my arrival at Sierra Leone I did myself the honour to report the discovery to his Excellency the Acting Governor; and, at his request, furnished him with a copy of the characters, alphabetically arranged, which his Excellency purposed sending to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In a service letter upon the subject I made use of the following expression: — "To the Admiralty, the head of the profession to which I have the honour to belong, I deem it my duty to forward a vocabulary I have arranged."

By his Excellency I was strongly recommended to send the vocabulary to England as early as

possible, and from him I received the following: —

"I have inspected your alphabet and vocabulary of the Vahie language, and I have no hesitation in saying that you have made a most important discovery; it being up to this time asserted on all hands that there exists no native African written language. I advise you not to lose a moment in making your discovery known to the learned in Europe; otherwise, as you have mentioned the subject to several persons on this coast, you will run the risk of sharing the fate of many other contributors to the stock of human knowledge, by being deprived of the honour of your discovery by some unscrupulous plagiarist."

The curiosity of the discovery brought people of all classes in Sierra Leone to witness it; and among others the missionaries — to these men the more astonishing, one of their Society being a man of sound philological learning. The following is the copy of a letter I received from the senior Missionary of the Church of England, the Rev. Ed. Jones, M. A.: —

"I am unwilling that you should leave our shores without expressing to you how deeply I feel your kindness in favouring me with a sight of your African vocabulary. I trust your most praiseworthy exertions amid the arduous duties

of your profession will lead to ulterior measures, and that steps will be immediately taken to pursue what you have so spiritedly begun, and thus satisfy all that the interests of philology and the cause of African improvement may demand. It does seem a strange thing (for truth is strange) that at a point of land within a few days' sail of us, and immediately bordering upon an American colony, it should be left to a naval officer, actively engaged in the suppression of the slave trade, to bring to light the existence of a written language previously, so far as I have any means of judging, altogether unknown. This is your just merit, and I cheerfully acknowledge it."

I have had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. Roberts, the President of Liberia, an assurance that the language is a novelty to him, and he did me the honour to request I would furnish him with a copy of the characters.

Hoping this communication may meet your approbation, as well as the good opinion of their Lordships,

I have, &c.,

(Signed) F. E. Forbes,

Lieut. R.N. commanding H.M.S. Bonetta.

To Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K.C.B.,
Commander-in-Chief, West Coast of Africa,
&c. &c.

At Cape Mount, on the house of one of the Liberian settlers, I chanced to meet the following characters — "kó i si a wa ké mu."* Never having heard of an African language of the kind, I inquired, and discovered them to be of a native language of late introduction or invention. For some time I failed in getting them explained, or in obtaining any further information on the subject.

A lucky chance took me to a town called "Bohmar," about eight miles E. of Cape Mount, and there I met a man by the name of Mormorro Dualoo Wohgnae, a nephew of the king of Sugury, who possessed a manuscript and understood the language.

On this man consenting to live on board her Majesty's ship, I undertook to arrange the inclosed vocabulary, having collected and classed all the characters his book contained.

It will be observed that the language is of the Phonetic order; that the characters are not symbolical; and, according to my teacher, it was invented ten or twenty years ago by the following eight men: —

	Native Character
1. Duaroo-Kehloe-Kaie.	Dua du ke ra gai
2. Fargan-Zapoh.	Fa nge sa gbo.

* See facsimile on the second lithograph.

	Native Character.
3. Duaroo-Boh-Kehlae.	Dua du bù ke ra.*
4. Hhumdongloh-Wooloh.	Ng ro lo ulo.
5. Duaroo Tamee.	Dua du tá mi.
6. Bahee Behseh.	Bá i bí sé.
7. Karnahmar.	Ga na ma.
8. Kanlee fohloh.	Ká i fó lo.

"Mormorro Dualoo Wohgnae" thus writes his name: — Mo mo du dua du wó yé.

He informs me that at first the language was studied by many, and that schools were established; but that such extraordinary signs of civilisation aroused the jealousy of their Spanish neighbours at Gallinas, who, by intrigue and presents, soon laid the whole country into such a state of anarchy as overthrew the progress of learning.

If the language be one of such recent origin, or even an introduction, how far we must have mistaken the African's constitution!

The present vocabulary has been a work of upwards of three months' constant study, and has been revised four times.

I cannot think I am possessed of all the characters. However, my teacher assures me there are no more.

* This is obviously the Doalu Bukara of the Rev. Mr. Koelle.

A VOCABULARY.

Phenomena.

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
World	du nya	doo ñah
Sea	kó i	qua ie
Sun	te le	tai lee
Moon	ga lo	kar loh
Star	to ma la	to ro mar la
Light	du ma ga	doo mar ka
Dark	du ma fi	doo mar fee ng
Sunrise	te ga du ma	tai lee ka doo mao
Sunset	te bì la	tai lee bih la
Heat	gbá ni	pann dee
Cold	ki ma	kee mar
Night	su dong	su loh
Day	te dong	tai lee loh

Elements.

Fire	tá	tah
Air	a i fi la gbó a	ah ee fee lah bo ah
Earth	du ma	doo mar
Smoke	ji	gee
Water	si si	se se
Wind	fi la	fee lah
Calm	fi la bé le	fee lah bih lee

Senses.

See	ja já	eah jay
Hear	ja la	eah lah
Smell	ku e	ko ña
Feel	bu sâ dong	boh sor dong

Symmetry.

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Body	mo fi ma	moh fee mar
Head	ku	kung
Hair	ku ri	kung de
Eye	ja	ja
Ear	to ro	to roh
Face	ja dong	tar roh
Mouth	jó (?)	la
Nose	sung	sung
Chin	gbá kó ro	pah ko loh
Arm	bó	boo
Hand	bó lu va lo	boo loo far loh
Finger	bó lu dóng le	boo loo dong le
Leg	ké ne	kai ñee
Foot	ké ne ja lo	kai ñee jar loh
Toes	ké dóng le	kain dong lee
Back	kó	koh
Belly	bú	boo

Maladies.

Deaf	a we le ko lo la	ah wee ly ko loh da
	a to lo gbo ti mu	ah to loh poo tee le moo
Dumb	mu mu	moo moo
Blind	a bì le mo já	ah bil lee mo jay
Idiot	a ku ra nya	ah ku lae ña
Mad	a bu lo wa	ah bo loh oar
Lame	a ma gbá	ah man pah
Wound	gbá a	pa ah
Fever	a ma ni gbá di a	ah ma nee pan dee ar
Sick	a ki la	a hi kee lah

Relations.

Father	fa	fa
Mother	ng ba	hhum bah
Husband	na ga	nah kar

RELATIONS — *continued.*

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Wife	na mus i	nah moo su
Man	ga i	kai ee
Woman	mu su ma	mu su mar
Brother	nyo mo	gno moh
Sister	nyo mo mu su ma	gno moh mu su mar
Son	na deng	nah ding
Daughter	na deng mu su ma	nah ding mu su mar
Boy	deng ga i ma	ding kai ee mar
Girl	deng mu su ma	ding mu su mar

HOUSE, &c.

House	ké	kain
Door	ké la lo	kain dar roh
Window	já le la lo	jayn dee lah loh
Thatch	ja la	jan dah
Wood	sâ	so ro
Room	só ri lo	zoh de loh
Table	ma sa	mar sar
Bed	gbé gbé	ping pih
Seat	gbe ye	big ngae
Mat	wa la	our lah
Pipe	tá wa la	ta oar lah
Tobacco	tá wa	ta oar

FOREST.

Forest	fi la bá wo la	fee la bah woh la
Tree	kó ng	koang
Bush	wâ gbó	jaum boh
Bough	a bó dóng	ah boo loon
Trunk	kó ng té	koang tih
Leaf	ja ng bá	ja hhum bah
Flowers	kó fu	kon foo
Fruit	kó póng	kon pong
Shade	si le kó lo	su elee a kor loh

FOREST — *continued.*

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Bark	kó fó lu	koang fo loo
Thorn	wa le	wah lee
Roots	kóng su lu	koang soo doo
Creeper	ju du	juh doo

ARMS, &c.

Spear	tá bá	tam bah
Sword	mí yé	mee ñae
Musket	bù	boh
Powder	bù ng	boh foung
Cannon	do bá	doo bah
Fowling-piec	ese dóng	seh doong
Powder-flask	fu u	vou loo
Musket-ball	bù kó je	boh ko enjae

ANIMALS.

Bull	ni ga i ma	gnee kaie mar
Bullock	ni	gnee
Cow	ni mu su ma	gnee mu su mar
Goat	bá	bah
Sheep	bá wa la	bah oar la
Pig	kó nya	ko ñah
Leopard	ko ri	ko de
Deer	ké la	kain la
Elephant	ga ma	kar mar
Dog	u du	woo doo
Cat	ma nya le	mar gnah elee
Rat	to la	to la
Mouse	ding ri	ding de
Musk-rat	do du	doo loo
Bush-cat	ko le gbé le	ko lee pih lee
Lion	ja la	ja la
Tiger	su du gbo	su loo poo

Birds.

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Fowl	ti ea	tee ea
Duck	bù dong ko ri	boh loh kon dee
Eagle	kó ng ja	quan ja
Snipe	gbo lo ma se be	po lo mar seh mbeh
Palm bird	kó si a	ko se ah
Dove	pong u	poh woo
Turkey	do gbá ke ko deng	doo pah ke kon de
Toucan	gbé a gbé a'	pih ah piah

Fruit.

Orange	du bú lo	doom boo loh
Pine-apple	ké fé	kain fae
Plantain	bá na	bah nah
Banana	po ng bá na	poro ba nah
Cocoa-nut	po ng kó ea	poro kon jae
Guava	kó ri wa	ko le oar
Paupau	pa ga i	pah kaie

Vegetables.

Pumpkin	gbo du	po loo
Yams	si na bé le	ce nah beh lee
Cassada	tu sa	bah sar
Sweet potato	jo u	joh woo
Rice	kó ro	ko loh
Onions	si bá la	se bah lah
Chillies	ki la fé	kee lah fae
Beans	sâ	sor

Metals.

Gold	ga ni ja le	kar nee jar lee
Silver	ga ni gbè ma	kar nee peh mar
Copper	tá ni	ta gnee
Brass	bang bang té ra	bang ban teh lae
Iron	ku du	kung doo
Tin	gâ gâ	gon gong
Charcoal	ké bú	kain boo

Minerals.

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Diamond	ni na si ng	nee nah seng
Glass	me sé ra	meh neh lae

Spices.

Salt	kó	koh
Pepper	ki le fe	kee lee fae
Oil	do du	too doo

Meats, &c. &c.

Meat	su yé	soo yea
Bullock flesh	ni su yé	gnee soo yea
Goat flesh	bá ne yé	bah soo yea
Bread	gbó ng	boh foo
Flour	gbó ng mu	boh foo mun
Fish	nyi	gnea

Drinks.

Palm wine	bá gbè	bang peh
Spirits	po ng gbè	poro peh
Rum	gbè	peh

Colours.

White	a gbè ma	ah peh mar
Black	fi ma	fee mar
Yellow	nye le	ñae lee
Red	ja le	ja lee
Green	ji ro	gee dong

Clothes.

Clothes	dóng fing	doung fing
Cap	gbo lo	boh loh
Shirt	dóng ma	doung mar
Trowsers	ké ko la	kain kon lah

CLOTHES — *continued.*

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Shoes	kó wa	ko oar
Black handkef.	bi tá gbá sa	fee ta pah sar
Cloth	mu lu fu	moo luh fuh
Piece cloth	ko la	koh lah
Country cloth	ga ro ko la	kan doh ko lah

TIMES, &c.

Year	sang	sang
Month	ga lo	kar loh
Morning	sa ma	sar mar
Evening	te le lo	teh lee loh
Noon	te le ku té	teh lee kun teh
Midnight	su té	su tih
To-day	sâ ro ro	sor don do
To-morrow	si na	se nah
End	a bá he	ah bang he
Beginning	a ku du mi	ah ko ro mee
Rainy season	sa ma lo	sar mar ro
Dry season	ko ri ma	ko le mar
Land wind	u la lo fi la	woo la loh fee lah
Sea wind	kó i lo fi la	qua ee loh fee loh

PRONOUNS, &c.

I	ng nya	hhum gar
Thou	i wa	ee oar
He	ga i me	ka ie meh
We	mu gbe	mun bih
You	i wa	ee oar
They	mo me nu	moh meh noo
Who	wâ mu	jauh mun
Which	a me na	ah me nah
My	tá mu	tah mun
His	a tá mu	ah tah mun
Ours	mu tá mu he	mun tah mun he
Yours	i wa tá mu	ee oar ta mun

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Theirs	a nu tá mu	ah noo ta mun
Each	ke ke	keh o keh
All	a gbè ra	ah peh lae
Neither	ro ro gbè ra	don do peh lae
This	ke	ke
That	ke me nu	keh me noo
Some	ng kó deng	hhum ko ding
Other	a ma deng	ah mar ding
Such	ke tá lo	keh ta roh
More	ng u gbó lo la	hhum worro bo riola
None	a gbè deng	ah peh ding

NUMERALS.

	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
1	ro ro	don do
2	fi la	fee lah
3	sa gbá	sare pah
4	na ni	nah nee
5	sâ du	sor doo
6	sâ du ro ro	sor don do
7	sâ du fi la	sorn fee la
8	sâ du sa gbá	sorn sare pah
9	sa du na ni	sorn ná nee
10	tá ng	tang
11	tá ng ro ro	tang don do
20	mo bá le	mo ban dee
21	mo bá le a kó ro ro	mo ban dee ako don do
30	mo bá le a kó táng	mo ban dee ako tang
31	mo bá le a kó táng ro ro	mo ban dee ako tang don do
40	mo fi la bá le	moh fee lah ban dee
41	mo fi la bá le akó ro ro	moh fee lah ban dee ako don do
50	mo fi la bá le akó táng	moh fee lah ban dee ako tang
51	mo fi la bá le akó tang ro ro	moh fee lah ban dee ako tang don do
60	mo sa gbá bá le	moh sack pah ban dee
61	mo sa gbá bá le a kó ro ro	moh sack pah ban dee ako don do
70	mo sa gbá bá le a kó táng	moh sare pah ban dee ako tang
71	mo sa gbá bá le a kó tang ro ro	moh sare pah ban dee ako tang don do

NUMERALS — *continued.*

	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
80	mo na ni bá le	moh nar nee ban dee
81	mo na ni bá le akó ro ro	moh nar nee ban dee ako dondo
90	mo na ni bá le a kó táng	moh nar nee ban dee ako tang
91	mo na ni bá le a kó táng ro ro	moh nar nee ban dee ako tang
100	hoh ro ro	hun de ro don do [don do
1000	tá su ro ro	taow su don do

ADJECTIVES.

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Able	ku la	koun dah
Acid	a dóng la	ah don lah
Aged	ka ki la	karn kee lah
Agreeable	kó ni	koh ñee
Alike	nyo gbi	neaugh beih
Alive	a ke ra	ah ken dae
Bad	a ma na	ar mar gne
Barren	a gbé ma le mu	ah peh mar lee moo
Bend	i du	ee doo
Boiling	a u ri	ah woo dee
Broken	i ga ri	ee kar dee [pang
Careful	i ku ma fé ra gbà gbà	ee ko mar feh lae pang
Cheap	a sâ woh ma gbè ra	ah song woh mar peh lae
Clean	a ko le	ah ko elee
Clever	i ko sa	ee koh sar
Cloudy	bá la gbi la	ban da beih lah
Complete	a ku be le mu	ah kung ben dee mun
Drunk	gbè bi la	peh bi lah
Dry	a gbá la	ah pah la
Empty	a fó lu mu	ah fo loo mun
Enough	a ku la	ah kung dah
Equal	ng kó tá	hhum kon tah
Female	su	su
Few	a ma fing fá	ah mar fing far
First	a se je se je	ah sen gee sen gee
Fit	a ku la gbé	ah kung dal ping

ADJECTIVES — *continued.*

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Future (?)	ja lo	jar loh
Free	ma ja deng	man ja ding
Glad	a ng va la sa	ah hum far la sar
Great	a sâ wó be le	ah song woh bil lee
Hard	a gbè ra	arc peh lae
Heavy	a va nya	ah far ña
High	a ga ro ja ng	ah can doh jang
Hot	a gbá ri a	ah pan deah
Hungry	kó ng wó	kong woh
Jealous	a mu su va la	ah mu su fa la
Ignorant	a ma ko sa	ah mar ko sar
Improper	a ma ma	ah mar mar
Laborious	a gbo ro wi ra tu	ah poh loh wee lae too
Large	a ko lu	ah koo loo
Last	a gbè me	ah peh ne meh
Late	i a fé ja ja	ee ah feh jan ja
Less	a ku ma ko lu	ah kung mar ko loh
Long	a ja ng	ah jang
Loose	i fó le	ee foo lee
Lost	a sa ma	ah sar mar
Male	ka i	ka ie
Middle	a té ma	ah teh mar
More	a gbó lo	ah bo roh
Near	nu be fo	noo beh for
New	a na ma	ah nah mar
Next	a ro ma le	ah roh man dee
Numerous	a ku du bá	ah koor um bah
Old	a kó lo kó lo bá mu	ah ko loh ko loh bah moo
Open	i da ga	ee dar ka
Past	a be le a	ah beh lee ah
Poor	ja mo mu	jar moh moo
Pretty	a nyi gbá	ah gneae pah
Quick	i na ri a ri a	ee nah dee ah dee agh
Rapid	a lo gbá ri a	ah loh pan dee ah
Same	a tá ro	ah tar roh

ADJECTIVES — *continued.*

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Short	a i ku du	ah ee kung doo
Sick	a ki la wa	ee kee la oar
Slow	i ma tá ri a	ee mar tar de ah
Soft	a ma gbè la	ah mar peh lae
Strong	a nge na	ah gar nah
Sweet	a hi nya gbá	ah kee ña pah
Thirsty	ng kó ji ni a mi	hhung ko gee nee ah mee
Timid	a mi ni nya	ah mee nee ña
True	tân nya mu	tau ña moo
Unequal	a ma ga ng	ah mar kang
Unwilling	ma da lu	mar da roo
Useful	na i ri a	nah ee dee ah
Useless	ma lu lu a la	mar oo loo a lah

VERBS.

Abuse	a gbé ra ja u	ah peh lae ja oo
Accept	i gbí la je	ee beh la enjae
Accuse	a tá ko sé ri na	ah ta ko seh di nah
Answer	i wi kó le	ee vee qua lee
Arrive	a ké	ah kay
Ask	i to sa	ee to sar
Assist	i bá sa la	ee bar sar la
Bargain	a sâ wó na	ah sor woh gnee
Beat	ng be bú a	hhum beh boo ah
Beg	fu ra ke	foo lae kae
Begin	i ku du bi	ee koo roo bee
Believe	i sa la	ee sar la
Bind	i ki ri a kó	ee kee lee ah ko
Boil	i ki ng	ee kee ng
Bring	i na la	ee nah lah
Buy	i a sa	ee ah sang
Call	i ké le	ee kain lee
Carry	i tá la	ee ta la
Catch	i bi la	ee bee la
Chew	i ro	ee dong

VERBS — *continued.*

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Collect	i la só	ee dar song
Come	i na	ee nah
Count	i la ng	ee dang
Cut	i tehi	ee tehea
Dance	mu tá ro ke	mun ta dong ke
Deliver	i tá kó	ee ta ko
Destroy	a ro ja lu	ah ro ja oo
Die	a fá la	ah far la
Double	a si na ma	ee se nah mar
Divide	u i té du	oo ee teh doo
Dress	i ma ki ri	ee mar kee dee
Drink	ı mi	ee mee
Eat	feng ro	fing dong
End	a bá ng	ah bang
Explain	i ro ji la ng la	ee roh gee lang dah
Enter	i dóng	ee doung
Invite	i ké bá la he	ee kain bah la he
Go	i tá	ee tah
Kick	i ma ng té	ee marn teh
Kiss	i la dóng ng la lo	ee da doung hhum dah [loh
Kill	i fá	ee far
Know	na sâ	nah sor
Laugh	i já ra ke	ee jay lae ke
Lend	ng si na	hhum see nah
Lie	i fá ni	ee far gnee
Live	i fé la gbó	ee fe la boh
Love	na i ri a	nah ee de ah
Look	ng fé ra	hhum feh lae
Make	i na a	ee gnee ah
Move	i bi	ee bee
Occupy	a be nu	ah bih noo
Open	i la ga	ee dar kar
Owe	a gbà gbí la ng bó lo	ah pang beh la hhum boo
Paddle	da la	dar lah [loh
Part	i té ga	ee teh kar

VERBS — *continued.*

English.	Phonetic Character.	Pronunciation.
Pay	pa wa ke	paugh oar ke
Please	kó nya	ko gnee
Prepare	i ma di a	ee mar dee ah
Promise	ku ra gbí la	ku lae bih la
Protect	ku ma fé ra	kung mar feh lae
Quarrel	kó ri	qua dee
Receive	a gbá bú lo	ah bong boo loh
Recollect	a sâ ku ro	ah song kung dong
Rob	a ga (?)	ah kar gar
Run	bú le ka	boo lee keh
Sail	wu fi la se ra	woo fee lah seh lae
Say	fing ro	fing dong
Sell	i ga	ee kar
See	a je	ah enjae
Sing	ro ng gbá	dong hhum boh
Speak	i fo	ee for
Stab	a ng sâ me a	ah ung sor me ah
Stop	i sâ	ee sor
Swear	a bú lo ke	ah boo loh keh
Take	i gbi	ee bee
Talk	di a bú	dhe am boo
Tell	i fo	ee for
Tear	i te	ee teh
Think	i ku ro ki le ma	ee kung dong kee lee
Touch	i ma	ee mar [mar
Tremble	a ma ni sa ng bá	ah mar gnee sam bah
Trust	i sa la	ee sar rah
Understand	na sâ	nah sor
Wake	ea ku yé	ea kung nay
Walk	i tá ea	ee ta eah
Watch	i ma ki ke	ee mar kee keh
Want	ng lu lo a la	hhum woo loh a lah
Weigh	i mu su ma	ee mu su mar
Wish	i wó lo	ee woh loh
Work	sâ ke	sor keh

The foregoing vocabulary is of the "Vahie" or Vei language, which extends over the following countries: — Cape Mount, Soungrie, Marma, and Gallinas, on the sea coast, and several interior countries. Varieties of African languages are so frequently met with, that they may be more properly termed dialects, as the following may prove: —

	Vahie.	Courroo.	Kroo.	Fish.
1	Dondo	goonoo	doo	doo
2	Feelah	tierla	song	song
3	Sacpah	tarlee	tah	tah
4	Narnee	teenar	neah	eh
5	Sooloh	noono	moo	d'moo
6	Soo dondo	dia goonoo	moomadoo	neeroo
7	Soo feelah	dia tierla	moomasong	mesoong
8	Soo sacpah	dia tarlee	mumatah	biah biah
9	Soo narnee	dia teenar	munia sussahdoo	chieeroo
10	Tang	zehiar	pouah	poh

Thus the above characters of the Vahie Phonetic, might be arranged into a general African written language.

In concluding, I hope the missionaries or others may follow up what has been thus commenced, as, from the opposite nature of the duties of a naval officer, I could neither spare time, nor hope for the opportunity of faithfully arranging a grammar or making translations.

From the Admiralty my discovery was transmitted officially to the Royal Geographical Society.

Mr. Norris studied the language and published notes with a full alphabet, enlarging considerably on Mr. Koelle's and my researches. They will be found in the 20th Number of the Report of the Royal Geographical Society.

I was somewhat surprised, on my return to England, having given a vocabulary of the language and the characters alphabetically arranged to a German missionary and philologist at Sierra Leone, in finding that gentleman, after most spiritedly following up the discovery, had published a pamphlet, entitled "Narrative of an Expedition into the Vy Country of West Africa, and the Discovery of a System of Syllabic Writing, &c. By the Rev. J. W. Koelle, missionary," &c.; almost entirely forgetting the pioneer, leaving it a matter of doubt to the reader, to whom the credit of the discovery belonged.

There remains no doubt but that this language is purely an invention of late date, and one entirely of African enterprise. What the African intellect is capable of developing, may not be altogether known in this country. Education is doing much towards civilising Africa, and if used as a material organ will be a very strong one against the slave trade.

Among a people who, for convenience, can frame and establish a Phonetic language, and teach

from it unassisted (although in the neighbourhood of colonies of nations known to be patrons of literature), an extension of education must be of most material service.

There are several extraordinary instances of blacks becoming highly educated, and of the most eminent service to their fellow men: of these one of the most enterprising may be considered the Rev. Mr. C———, the senior missionary at Abeahkeutah, who has translated the Scriptures into the Yoribah language. This gentleman was originally a slave, and liberated from the slave-yard at Sierra Leone.

In the new presidency of Liberia are several instances of the capacity of the blacks' intellect.

Among the emigrants, or liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, the Akoos, natives from the Bight of Benin (so termed from the general salute, or "good morning," common to all the kingdoms of that portion, "Akoo Akoo"), are said to be the most apt at learning. They become, in love of money and ingenuity and tact at bargains, the Jews of Africa, when removed from their own country; though some (as, for instance, Don José Almeida, instanced in the foregoing Journals) take advantage of their education on their return to cheat their own people.

With such convincing proofs, let it be hoped

that education will be extended; and wherever a black becomes distinguished for talent, such rewards should be open to him, in his own continent, as have lately been given to a reverend and learned black gentleman, the new consul of the negro republic of Liberia.

If the offices of the colony of Sierra Leone were more open to black enterprise, there would be a greater extension of competition; and although the missionaries have many large schools, and the course of education is exceedingly good, the scholars would considerably increase in numbers, and no doubt many of them become also excellent missionaries and schoolmasters to return to their native country.

Slavery is the offspring of ignorance, and in no part of Africa where the light of civilisation has shone does slavery exist. In Dahomey the missionaries have not yet planted the tree of knowledge, although in each of the large neighbouring countries, Ashantee and Abeahkeutah (Yoribah), education is fast advancing, and the slave trade receding.

Trade and education generally in Africa advance with equal strides, treading down the slave traffic, and carrying with them all the advantages of civilisation over barbarism. In all the large rivers of the Bights of Benin and Biafra, the

slave trade has been almost entirely uprooted by the extension of palm-oil trade and increase of education, the kings of those rivers keeping their own ledgers, and attending materially to their trade affairs to such an extent as to have abolished the religious superstitions that in former years ruled the kings themselves: among these the "Egboh of the Camaroons" (a wild superstition that ruled all classes to such an extent that British captains of merchant vessels have bought Egboh, *i. e.* become votaries of this degrading, disgusting superstition, in order, in their position as priests, to command a monopoly over their more ignorant, but less to be pitied customers) has been entirely done away with.

C.

Vocabulary of the Dahoman Language.

The language is of the poorest order of any I have met even in Africa, although in the vicinity of the most complete of African languages, the Haussa, in which the Arabic cipher is applied to

its intonation. This may be considered extraordinary to those unacquainted with the obscure origin of the Dahomans. I can make but the following few observations of the Dahoman manner of expression.

Many of the words are compounded, while other words are (altered in sound) pronounced with or without emphasis, according to the (or otherwise) superlative meaning required: thus, dag bee, good; dag bee, dag bee, means beautiful, sublime, purity, excellence, &c., according to its emphatic sound and the number of the repetitions.

The addition of the word "voo" to the name of an animal, signifies the offspring of that animal: thus, soh, a horse; soh voo, a colt;— koh kroo, a fowl; koh kroo voo, a chicken.

The addition of "pee vee," or small, is sufficient to express almost an entirely different meaning in our idiom: thus, toh, a city; toh pee vee, a village; — hoh, a house; hoh pee vee, a hut.

All foreign introductions are termed "ee a voo," or the white man's: thus, zah, a mat; ee a voo zah, a mattress; — zing poo, a stool; ee a voo zing poo, a chair. Any native who leaves his country, even as a slave, and returns, if he wears the dress of a foreigner, is termed ee a voo, a white man: thus, in Whydah, to distinguish two men named Das-

soo, one is termed for the above reason, Ee a voo Dassoo.

The numerals are very peculiarly compounded, as the following list will show.

Numerals.

1. Deh
2. Oui
3. Ahtor
4. Eh neh
5 Ah tong
6. Ah ee zae
7. Teghn oui
8. Tar tor
9. Teghn neh
10. Woh
11. Woh deh poh
12. Woh oui
13. Woh ator
14. Woh eh neh
15. Ah fau tong
16. Ah fau tong noo koo noo deh poh
17. Fau tong noo koo noo g'noui
18. Fau tong noo koo noo ah tong
19. Fau tong noo koo noo eh neh
20. Koh
21. Koh noo poo noo koo deh
30. Ek bagh
40. Kan dee
50. Kan dee woh
60. Kan dee koh
70 Kan dee ek bagh

NUMERALS — *coutinued.*

80. Kan oui
90. Kan oui woho
100. Kan oui koh

After ten to fifteen the translation would be ten + one, + two &c.: sixteen is a compound of ten, five, and one added, and so on to 20.

40. A contraction of twice twenty.
50. Twice twenty and ten added.
60. Twice twenty and twenty.
70. Twice twenty and thirty added.
80. Twice forty.
90. Twice forty and ten added.
100. Twice forty and twenty added.

PHENOMENA.

World	toh
Visible heaven	gee noo
Earth	aee kung bangh
Sea	ah hoo
Sun	hoo soo voh
Moon	sung
Star *	sung voo
Light	a ee hoo
Darkness	sang koo
Sunrise	hoo ae tong
Sunset	hoo ae haugh
Shadow	ee ah
Heat	usu
Cold	ah ve voh
Lightning	soh meah
Thunder	gee dag bah
Rainbow	dah

* Sung voo, literally the offspring of sung (the moon).

Fire, &c.

Fire	zoh
Smoke	min ah zoh
Sparks	zoh jah gee ah
Flame	zah fing
Fuel	zah kee
Charcoal	zoh kah

Water, &c.

Water	seeng
Ditto muddy	dee hoh
Fresh water	seeng dag bee
Salt ditto	jae seeng
Well ditto	dah roh
Rain ditto	gee jah
River	gae seeng
Well	doh
Swamp	bah bah
Tears	ah wee
Rain	gee kung
Dew	ah hung
Fog	a vee vee

Air, &c.

Wind	tah hong
Calm	yu su beh
Storm	a foo meh
East	hoo ee tong
West	hoo ee haugh

Senses.

Seeing	noh pong
Hearing	ee seh noo ah
Smelling	hoo neh pong
Feeling	heh pong

Symmetry, &c.

Face	noo koo meh
Dumb	deh koo koo noo
Deaf	toh koo noo
Blind	eh toh noo koo
Squinting	noo koo mee me ah
Stammer	deh koo koo noh
Humpback	boh toh noh
Silly	lae loo noo
Mad	noo loo noo
Cough	ee jek pegh
Small-pox	a poh tee peh vee*
Itch	eh jah zeh
Fever	ah vee voh zoung
Wound	zeh noo noo mee
Sneeze	eh gnee zing
Bald	eh soon tah
Toothache	ee soo ah doo
A cold	meek pong

Relations of Life.

Man	soo noo
Woman	gno noo
Husband	ah soo kee
Wife	ah see kee
Father	toh kee
Mother	noh kee
Brother	noh ee vee
Son	vee kee
Daughter	mee noh kee
Slave	kah noh moh, *or* ah kroo

Buildings, &c.

Bricks	pengh
Tiles	sih

* A poh tee peh vee, literally "small a poh tee."

BUILDINGS — *continued.*

Lime	adak peh
Sand	neah keh
Beam	zah ting
Board	hoh lae
Thatch	seh
Spars	a seh a tengh
Nails	hoon jeh
House	hoh ee
Church	voh dong jee vee
Fort	sing boh mee
Storehouse	zah hoh
Hut	hoh peh vee
Market	ah hee meh
Shed	dee hoh
Fowl-house	hoh koh kroo
Door	hoong
Lock	gloh goh
Key	chah vee
Window	noo voo koo
Room	hoh mee
Stairs	a lee a gee
Floor	hoo leh
Cook-room	adoh haw
Partition	doh
Housetop	zah g̈ee

FURNITURE.

Table	tah ooh
Chair	ee a voo zing poh
Stool	zing poo
Mat	zah
Mattrass	ee a voo zah
Hammock	pong
Pillow	kor do noo
Curtains	a noo dong

FURNITURE — *continued.*

Box	a poh ting
Basket	hah
Watch	gah poh noo
Clock	gah noo
Hour-glass	gah poh too
Musket	too
Pistol	too peh vee
Gun	ah kor doh
Sword	gee vee doh hoh
Spear	hoo waugh
Dagger	gee vee peh vee
Spy-glass	hoong poo noo
Looking-glass	noo puengh
Blunderbuss	ah bah leah

FURNITURE OF THE TABLE.

Tablecloth	tah voo gee voo
Dish	flah too gar gar
Plate	flah too
Cup	ting zoo noo noo
Basin	woo koo meh fung bah
Jug	see noo noo ee a voo tong
Spoon	ah kee nee
Knife	ee a voo gee vee
Fork	lah soo ee
Bottle	māk bĕh goo

FURNITURE OF THE KITCHEN.

Pan	noo dah zeh
Pot	zeh
Lamp	zoh beh
Candlestick	zoh beh noo
Candle	zoh beh
Tub	ah kroo pap
Broom	ah kee sar

Tools, &c.

Hammer	ham mah
Anvil	zoong
Bellows	wah hoong
Saw	sah
Axe	ha vee
Hoe	ah lee
Saddle	soh pah
Bridle	soh gan
Paper	wee mar
Ink	wee zing
Pen	wee oo na noo

Wild Animals.

Lion	kennee kenee
Tiger	paugh
Elephant	ah tengh nee
Ditto trunk	a doh
Ditto tusk	a tengh ee doo
Wild hog	ha veh
Hyæna	ha lah
Deer	ak boh
Monkey	a tugh
Ditto, small	zee o
Ditto, long-tailed	toh kra
Squirrel	dong
Lizard	a loh toh
Cat	glargh zee
Mouse	a jah kah

Serpents, &c.

Snake	dang
Centipede	a ting dooeh
Millepede	a na tung goo goo
Scorpion	a hong klee klee
Alligator	loh

SERPENTS, &c. — *continued.*

Tortoise	loo goo zoo
Oyster	da kwei

INSECTS.

Butterfly	wee tee pah da dah
Louse	soh
Fly	soo peh
Mosquito	zah soo peh
Firefly	zoo klee nee gnee
Spider	tog bee eh

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

Horse	soh
Mare	soh ahsee
Stallion	soh assoo
Foal	soh voo
Bullock	gnee boo
Bull	gnee boo soo
Cow	gnee see
Calf	gnee boo voo
Ass	huagh gnee
Mule	soh

VEGETABLES.

Yams	teh vee
Cassada	feh rin ha
Sweet potatoes	oo ee vee
Beans	a ee vee
Ground beans	ah zing
Ground nuts	ah ee o zing

SPICES, &c.

Salt	seh
Pepper	ee e teh
Ditto, Cayenne	ee eteh me me sh
Oil	ah mee
Butter	boo droo

Eatables.

Rice	moh lee kung
Fish	hueh vee
Crabs	ah gar sar
Flour	ee a voo hee fee
Bread	ee a voo augh
Beer	ee a voo hah voh
Pitto	hah voh
Tea	ee a voo see zing no bloo noo
Beef	gnee boh lah
Mutton	bah lah
Meat	lah
Egg, fowl's	koh kroo zee

Times and Seasons.

Time	ek beh
Year	hueh
Month	sung
Week	voo dong bee
Day	peh dag bee
Night	zan koo
Moon	hah ee hing flah doo wee
Midnight	zan flah doo wee
Yesterday	sor
Last night	sor see sang koo
To-morrow	ah hee hung sor

Domestic Animals.

Ram	lain boh assoo
Lamb	lain boh voo
Goat	bah
Pig	agroo zar
Kid	boh voo
Dog	ah voo
Cat	ah whee
Kitten	ah whee voo

Poultry.

Duck	pak pah
Fowl	koh kroo
Chicken	koh kroo voo
Cock	koh kroo soo
Turkey	troh troo
Guinea-fowl	ah wah nee
Dove	pah ho lee

Birds.

Turkey buzzard	ah klah soo
Parrot	kee seh
Parroquet	kee seh kroo
Hawk	gan gar

Metals, &c.

Gold dust	see kah oh
Gold	see kah
Diamonds	jeh mah tee
Silver	pah toh gar
Iron	gan
Brass	gan boh
Copper	boh deah
Gunpowder	dah doo noo soh too too
Medicine	ah moh

Trees, &c.

Tree	ah ting dah ho
Shrub	ah ting peh vee
Branch	ah ting kang
Trunk	ah ting velah me
Root	ah ling doh
Flowers	ah ling seh
Forest	zoong doh ho

Fruits.

Fruit	ah ling seh se
Orange	ee a voo slh
Lime	ee a voo seh klee
Pine-apple	ah gong dee
Plantain	koh kwei doh ho
Banana	koh kwei peh vee
Guava	king
Pau-pau	bah ek peh
Cocoa-nut	ah gong keh
Kashew	ka zoo

Dress.

Hat	pah kung
Cap	a voh pah kung
Coat	ahoo
Trowsers	toh ko too
Waistcoat	ah boh nieh hoo
Robe or Gown	ah voh
Handkerchief	doo kwei
Shoes	ah fok pah
Sandals *	mah lae fok pah
Button	boh
Needle	gneeh
Thread	a voh kah
Comb	sogh
Stick	pogh
Ear-ring	toh doo ee
Finger-ring	a loh keh
Bracelet	a loh gan
Thimble	
Scissors	fee chee leh
Ribbon	fee teh

* Mah-lae, or Mallam's shoes, introduced into Dahomey by Haussa Mallams, who have a mosque in Abomey, and one in Whydah.

	DRESS — *continued.*
Lace	see kar gan
Calico	ah klah koo
Flannel	boh fung
Canvass	ah tee
Satin silk	seh dah
	RELIGION.
God	ee a wee
Devil	ah zeh loh
Worship	ee mah ee voo doo koo ee
Prostrate	ee voo noo voo noo voh dong
Kneel	ee pah koh lee
	CITY, &c.
City or town	toh
Village	toh peh vee
Island	leh leh dwee toh nee
Mountain	soh
Garden	gee pah meh
Soil	koh
Field	gree tah
Stone	ah wee ah peh vee
Canal	soo ee
	OF A MAN.
Body	woo too
Head	ta kung
Hair	dāh
Beard	tāhn
Face	noo kung meh
Nose	a oung lee
Eyes	woo kung
Mouth	noo beh
Tongue	deh
Lips	noo beh
Tooth	ah doo
Ear	toh

OF A MAN — *continued.*

Neck	ee kah
Shoulder	ah boh tah
Arm	ah wā
Hand	ah loh pah
Elbow	oh ah goh lee
Back	gnee bee
Stomach	hoon jee
Leg	ah foh
Knee	go go lee
Thigh	ah sah
Foot	ah fo
Bone	hoo
Flesh	kaug
Veins	kau da ho
Pulse	ee nook doh
Blood	hoong
Heart	a dah jah meh

ADJECTIVES.

A.

Able	na soh gan
Acid	ee beh
Acute	hoo tah
Aged	hoh hoh
Agreeable	dagbee dagbee
Alike	ee demee tra la
Austere	gne na gne na
Awkward	noo bah tong

B.

Bad	ee niu ah
Barren	ee gee vee ah
Beautiful	ee niu dagbee dagbee
Bent	go doh go doh
Blazing	eh zoo

Blue	ah ho
Boiling	eh bee
Brave	hōnō hōnō
Broken	ek boh

C.

Careful	hau koo nootah
Cheap	ek poh
Clean	ee wee dagbee dagbee
Clever	ee niu niu tra la
Cloudy	vee vee doh
Coarse	niu ah
Cold	ah vi voh
Courteous	hau soo doh beh lae oh allah doh
Counterfeit	eh niu ah
Criminal	niah niah
Crooked	go doh go doh
Cruel	eh niu ah

D.

Dead	eh koo
Deaf	eh koo toh
Dear	eh veh trala
Deep	ah doo beh
Difficult	nah bloo ah
Dilatory	foh lee moh
Diligent	ee yahon trala
Disobedient	ah ma na blu
Distant	ee nee trala
Drunk	ah noo moo noo
Dry	ee hoo trala
Dumb	deh koo koo noo

E.

Easy	beh lae hoo
Empty	noo voh

Enough	eh koh
Equal	eh sok beh

F.

Fast	dee wae zoo
Fat	ee kroo trala
Feeble	eh blah oo
Female	niau noo
Ferocious	hoh meh sing beh
First	niu wae ja noo kong
Fit	ek peh
Foolish	lae loo noh
Foreign	foh deh voh
Fortunate	noo myah nah
Foul	eh on wae trala
Free	foh leh ah
Full	eh goh

G.

Glass	see ah woo trala
Glorious	noo dagbee
Good	dagbee
Great	dah ho
Grateful	ee niu trala
Green	ah mah moo
Guilty	hoo toh

H.

Handsome	ee niu dagbee dagbee
Hard	ee se gnea
Heavy	ek peh
High	ee dee gar
Hoarse	noo che au
Hollow	doh
Hot	ee noo zoo
Hungry	hoh zeh

I.

Ignorant	noo teah
Improper	ee niu tah
Innocent	nah ee soh ah
Insufficient	ee soo ah
Just	dagbee

K.

Kind	eh niu

L.

Large	dah hoh
Last	goo doh
Lazy	fau nee
Less	soo ah
Level	ee niu ah
Little	pee vee
Living	ee noh
Long	dee gah
Lost	eh boh
Loose	luah boh
Low	doh

M.

Mad	woo loo noh
Male	soo noh
Many	soo soo
Merry	noh koo noo trala
Middle	feh tee
Mor	soo soo

N.

Naked	dae mae
Near	eh neah
New	yah yau

Next	soh voh
Noisy	doh hoh
Numerous	mae soo soo

O.

Obstinate	ee nah
Old	hoh
Open	hoon
Outward	gotong

P.

Past	hway
Perfect	see
Pleasant	dee
Poisonous	amar
Poor	war moo noo
Pregnant	nah jee vee
Proper	dagbee
Proud	gne ah
Putrid	eh wheh

Q.

Quarrelsome	mae mela mela
Quick	wae zoo

R.

Ready	doh gee
Red	feh feh
Rich	daw koo noo
Ripe	bee ah
Rotten	foo foo

S.

Sharp	gah
Short	wee

Sick	azoh
Silent	na boh
Slow	deh deh
Soft	ee see ah
Sorry	sah voo
Square	dae mae noo
Strong	see eh
Sweet	vee vee

T.

Tall	gar gar
Thick	dah ho
Thin	fee lee ah
Thirsty	veh goh
Timid	feh see
True	eh noh deh noo voo ah

U.

Useful	ee gnon trala
Useless	ee gnon ah

W.

Warm	yu zoo
Weak	blah hoo
Wet	niu see
White	ee vee
Wild	meh see ah

Y.

Yellow	sah mee ah
Young	noo yau

VERBS.

A.

To Abide	eh deh wae tieh wae
Abolish	dor noo m beh

To Abuse	eh zung me-trala
Accept	doo po
Accompany	pla mee doo
Accuse	ploh noui
Adore	ni ung
Advise	doo voh
Answer	hhum kotroh
Arrest	oo elee
Arrive	so loh
Ask	kah no beah
Assist	hhum dogee
Awake	fong

B.

Bake	tuloh
Bargain	dah hee
Bathe	lae hoo
Bawl	sua noee loh mae
Be	na wa
Bear fruit	ting see seh
Beat	na doo
Beckon	oh ah
Beg	sah voo
Begin	gae gee
Behold	na pong
Believe	na see
Besmear	sah mee
Bind	bleh
Bite	doui
Bleed	boo hoo nee

C.

Call	row mae
Comprehend	oui na see
Confess	nah doh ho
Conquer	ek bah

To Contradict	eh noo voo oui
Copy	na ola
Cover	sor deh gee
Covet	juloh noo bee
Cough	pegh
Count	hah
Crack	bah
Crawl	sar
Cry	a vee
Cut	boo

D.

Dance	doo vee
Defame	sem
Delay	ma you
Deliver	soh noh
Desire	gno bah
Destroy	ek bri
Devour	doo ah
Die	koo
Dig	koung doh
Disguise	sor doo hoh mee
Dive	oua dee
Divide	bloh
Double	peh
Dream	koo drah
Dress	na bah
Drunk	na noo
Drown	koo toh

E.

Eat	na doo
End	bloo voh
Enter	na ee
Expect	gno wae niu na so wah
Explain	na boh noh
Extinguish	fah

F.

To Fade	eh meah soo
Force	na bloo
Free	oui

G.

Go	ee

H.

Hinder	doh meh teh
Help	bah mae de
Hope	joh loh

I.

Itch	hih hee mee
Judge	nah doh

K.

Keep	soh doo
Kick	sar fau mee
Kill	nah oo
Kiss	oui gnon
Knock	hoo noo
Know	nah gnon

L.

Laugh	koo noo
Lay	me lain
Ditto eggs	doo ah zee
Leak	doo doo
Leave	ou ar zee
Lend	nar mee
Lie	na doo noo voo
Live	na koo ah
Lock	soo
Look	pong

To Loose	eh froo peh lee
Love	neh groo

M.

Make	nah bloo
Measure	na gee lae
Meet	ou ah pegh
Mend	jong
Milk	fiong
Mix	deh do gee
Move	na hee

N.

Neglect	nae blee

O.

Obey	nah see
Occupy	nah oua
Offer	nah groo
Open	na hoong
Order	dor nee
Owe	doo ah hoh

P.

Paddle	doong poh
Paint	seh
Part	bloh meh
Pay	sah hoh
Perspire	sah deh
Pinch	gar feh mee
Please	boo soh
Plunder	fau noo bee
Poison	doo noo noo meh de
Prepare	dah loh gee
Promise	boh ah
Prostrate	deh koh

To Pull	eh doo eugh
Punish	hoo ee
Push	ee sar
Put	sor de gee

Q.

Quarrel	nah doh hoh
Question	hhum ko tee

R.

Rain	na gee
Read	noh hah
Receive	me moh
Recollect	nah boo ah
Rejoice	na vee vee
Release	soh
Repair	jee lah doo
Request	nah boh
Return	nah ee
Rise	nah ouagee
Rob	nah fee
Run	koo loh
Rub	hohn

S.

Sail	soo
Salute	dah pah
Saw	sar
Say	doh
Scrape	hoh lae
Scratch	kroo
Scream	sua hoh
See	noh moh
Sell	nah sah

To Send	eh no zo
Set	no boh
Sew	foir
Shake	dah
Shave	koo lae
Sing	gee ah
Sit	gee za ee
Sleep	mee lah ee
Smell	hui
Smoke	noo
Snore	noo oua
Sow	do
Speak	da ho
Spin	begh
Stand	tee dagbee
Starve	mar tee
Steal	nah sah
Stop	no tee
Sweep	zah ee
Swim	nee loh

T.

Take	na soh
Talk	boo doh
Taste	doo noo
Tear	leh nee
Teach	na poo leh
Tear	teh nee
Tell	doo noo ee
Thank	doh peh
Think	nah doh poo ee
Tickle	noo ko noo ko
Tie	blah
Touch	dah loo
Tremble	see soh
Turn	lae

U.

To Uncover	ch sor tee un
Understand	noh see

W.

Walk	boo ee
Wash	ma lae oo
Want	na groo
Weigh	na doo
Whisper	deh pah
Whistle	kwee kwee

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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SARAH FORBES BONNETTA

DAHOMEY

AND

THE DAHOMANS:

BEING

THE JOURNALS OF

TWO MISSIONS TO THE KING OF DAHOMEY,

AND RESIDENCE AT HIS CAPITAL,

IN THE YEARS 1849 AND 1850.

BY FREDERICK E. FORBES,

COMMANDER R.N. F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF

"FIVE YEARS IN CHINA," AND "SIX MONTHS IN THE AFRICAN BLOCKADE;"

DISCOVERER OF THE VAHIE PHONETIC, ETC.

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ERRATA.

Page 23. line 3. from bottom, for "Tappur" read "Tappah."
24. line 7. from bottom, for "one" read "only one."

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JOURNAL OF A SPECIAL MISSION TO THE COURT OF DAHOMEY,

IN MAY, JUNE, AND JULY, 1850.

PART I.

THE CUSTOM EE-QUE-AH-EH-BEK, OR PAYING THE TROUBADOURS.

THE extraordinary reports that had reached me of the royal magnificence and wealth reputed to be displayed at the great customs of Dahomey, naturally increased my anxiety for the arrival of the time when I could test, by my own personal observation, the marvellous reports of others. It

was therefore with no little eagerness that, in the beginning of May, I commenced my preparations for accepting the royal invitation to be present at the ensuing customs. On the 14th I arrived off Whydah. Embarking on board her Majesty's ship Phœnix, Captain Wodehouse, I was introduced to Mr. Beecroft, whom, doubtless, the reader knows as an enterprising African discoverer, and the general pilot for all the rivers, now appointed her Majesty's consul in the Bights.

Land at Whydah.

May 14*th.* — Although the surf was very high, as the viceroy of Whydah had sent off a number of canoes, we deemed it expedient to land; and, under a salute from her Majesty's ship Kingfisher, reached the shore with the loss of one case of twenty muskets. When we arrived at the town of Whydah, the British fort saluted us with twenty-one guns. The following day we visited the viceroy, who was very civil, and after a complimentary conversation, retired to our residence in the British fort.

May 10*th.* — A king's messenger arriving

to summon the viceroy to Abomey, he sent to say he would call the following day, as he was then too much engaged. The king, we are informed, has divided the appointment held by the late Da Souza between his three eldest sons, thus: Isidore, the richest and eldest is cha-cha; Ignatio, the second, a cabooceer; and Antonio, amigo-del-Rey. Each is considered an official, and pays as such a handsome tribute to the king, who thus gets three small tributes, in all, perhaps, equal to the extensive donation of their late father.

Appointments of the Da Souzas.

May 17*th*. — The viceroy visited us to take leave, and received his present. Like most of the sons of Ham, he was very difficult to satisfy; indeed I believe had we given him the whole of the royal present, he would have asked for more. He starts on the 20th, and we have permission to leave the following day: I say permission, for such it is, as travelling is not allowed in Dahomey without a passport, in the shape of his Majesty's stick. The viceroy rides the whole way,— rather an uncom-

The viceroy and his visit.

fortable mode of travelling, considering he has no saddle, and is held on. A fetish custom is going on here, which keeps up a din of singing, shouting, and firing, night and day; the great features are dancing and begging, both performed by the fetish people. As they pass, while the people prostrate themselves and give a few cowries, each fetish man places his hand on the heads of the prostrate blacks, and mutters a benediction. This night the viceroy sent to command that neither ourselves nor our people should go out on pain of death, nor that we should look out of the windows, as he was going to make sacrifice; whether human or other we did not ascertain, but I should be inclined to believe both.

The benediction of the fetish men.

Visit to the cha-cha.

May 18*th*. — At the viceroy's desire, the cha-cha, as an officer of the king of Dahomey, had supplied canoes for our landing, and, in consequence, we called upon him to thank him for his attention, and found him in a particularly ill humour, partly, perhaps, our own fault. The house of his father has been left to decay since

the late Da Souza's death, and the furniture is much dilapidated. We had appointed 11 A. M., and were on the spot at the moment, and unfortunately before the ancestral hall was swept. Finding that he was not prepared, I sent to say, if he did not receive us in five minutes, we would retire.

The furniture was any thing but good, and much destroyed by a mischievous insect, common to Africa, called the "bug-a-bug." At one end of the room was a full length portrait of this chief of slave-dealers, not unlike him — a dark mulatto with woolly hair; but certainly a fancy sketch as far as position was concerned. His right hand rested on a secretary, on which lay papers, inkstand, &c.: whilst in the background was an imaginary elysium, not often enjoyed by these lords of the creation — a library. These men never read, seldom write, their whole souls are wrapt in sensual enjoyment; in a half state of nudity, smoking eternally, they spend the greater part of their lives in their harems. After

explaining the cause of our visit, he asked if we were to be present at the customs; and gave us an exaggerated account of the sacrifices, which, in *his* opinion, were entirely the fault of the British government in keeping up the blockade. There is no doubt of the poverty of the latter days of the late Da Souza; all the property is in a state of decay.

Start for Abomey.

May 20th. — Having employed the previous day in preparing for our march, hiring bearers and hammockmen with much difficulty, we started our baggage, carried by upwards of 200 men and women. As soon as our baggage was well on its way, we left the fort under a salute, and at 9 P. M. arrived at Torree, where we halted for the night. The route we passed was precisely the same as that described in my former mission. We had now different matters to contemplate: before it was novelty and nothing else; now the Hwaenoo-ee-wha (occurring every year) might be looked forward to with curiosity; but with what horror must we contemplate the

sacrifice of the Se-que-ah-ee, — watering of the ancestral graves.

The cha-cha's arrival at Cannah.

May 25*th.* — Arrived at Cannah, and were soon disturbed by the pomp, noise, and array of the cha-cha's arrival, at the head of 140 soldiers, in uniform, armed and accoutred. Besides the chief were several Brazilian slave-merchants, all in hammocks, and shaded by a huge gaudy umbrella. In order to explain to his Majesty the difficulty of our position (in sending our sticks to report our vicinity and present our compliments), we added the following Dahoman parable, — that the leopard and the dog were bad travelling companions. In the evening the messenger returned, commanding us to rise at cock-crow and proceed to Abomey.

Arrival at Abomey.

May 26*th.* — Rising with the dawn of a beautiful cool morning, we walked to Abomey. As we started, the cha-cha's levees were also preparing for the march, and gaudy hammocks and trappings were preparing to carry these dealers in human

blood to the court of the greatest slave-hunter in all Africa.

Just within the gate, on wheels, was a large full-rigged brigantine, under all plain sail, about twenty feet long. Although a present from the late cha-cha, she must have been there as a compliment to our arriving in ships, as at the foremast head she flew a union jack, while dangling from her peak lazily hung the tricolor; on her stern was her name in golden letters, "Gézo Rey de Daomée." She was a pretty model, and, in her position, a matter of curiosity and wonder.

One of our interpreters, "Hijo de Why-dah," had a friend in the neighbourhood, and to his house we retired to array; in the meantime, with bands playing and drums beating, the Brazilian host of gilt and dirt arrived; and now commenced a determination on the part of the cha-cha, to be the great man of the occasion; but like most who try to take up a position they are not fitted for, he failed.

I have described a meeting in the former

journal; in all matters of form, the present one was similar, except that the cha-cha had taken ground within our position, and we had to pass him for the reception. As soon as we were seated he was called up, and would have passed us had he not been checked, and compelled to take his seat in a line with our position. His rage was evident, and as he took his place he muttered audibly, and in no good humour, "Politico! politico!" As the cabooceers advanced, the battery thundered forth a salute of twenty-one guns, in honour of her Majesty the Queen of England, and thirteen for each of her plenipotentiaries, much to the annoyance of our companion, who now gave up the contest, and quietly followed our hammocks to the royal pavilion, where he was received after us.

I have described a reception; and this in no way differed, except in the appearance of the square, hung on all sides with standards and flags; among them upwards of a dozen union jacks.

On the walls of the palace at my first

visit were many skulls, although time had destroyed great numbers that in King Adanooza's reign adorned the royal dwelling: now the greater part were down; and were it not festival times, hopes might have been deduced, that, disgusted with the ghastly sight, the present king, who has the appearance of a humane man, had resolved to discontinue the practice of exposing the human skull. Such is by no means the case; in the centre of the square stands a small octangular building, which was now adorned with 148 human skulls, lately cleaned and varnished, the heads of some of the victims of the dreadful tragedy of Okeadon. This town, distant about thirty miles north-west of Badagry, was taken by surprise in 1848 by the Dahomans, through the treachery of a chief called Olee-keh-kee, who lulled the suspicions of the Okeadon people, and led the Dahoman army within the walls. Such stratagems are called making a fetish to divide the people; and the commonalty believe the voodong, or fetish, has the power, like the Almighty,

The pavilion of skuls.

to turn the hearts of men. Opposite to this golgotha was a handsome pavilion, under which was a chair of state; and in the rear of it, under a high thatched-roofed gateway, sat the monarch, surrounded by his amazon army, and the female ministers. As before, we marched past three times, and the disgusting prostrations of the ministers and cabooceers were duly performed. The king, well dressed, was all smiles and complacence, and welcomed us to his capital with a command to drink. Drinking is one of the preliminaries of all African matters; but not having breakfasted, we were glad, at noon, to get to our quarters in the mayo's house without having taken a compound known in the United States by the name of "stone wall," consisting of rum, brandy, beer, lemonade, and various kinds of liquors and wine, — rather likely to be deleterious in an African climate. The din of firing and music (if the noise of the Dahoman martial bands deserve the name) continued all day and night.

The levee of the mayo.

May 27*th.* — At an early hour the mayo called, and invited us to his levee.

At each gate of the adjoining palaces of Dangelah-Cordeh and Agrimgomeh, on this particular day of the customs, it is *selon la règle* for a minister to plant his umbrella and stool, and surrounded by a host of followers, who form an extensive circle, receive the visits of his friends, and such as have favours to ask or complaints to make. At these levees there is much distribution of liquor; and, to amuse the visitors, in the centre of each circle are two bands and two of the royal troubadours, who take it in turn to sing the praises of the Dahoman monarch.

The troubadour's song.

Dressed in very gay attire, holding in his hand a blue crutch stick, one of these troubadours was reciting the military exploits of Gezo. As we arrived and exchanged compliments with the minister in a glass of muscatel, and while a canopy of high flat umbrellas was arranged over head, his song commenced with a general view of the royal conquests, and then re-

EE-QUE-AH-EK-BEH

cited a romantic account of the late war, in which "the Attapahms had run like the labourers in the bush from the hordes of Chimpanzee; that the prisoners were more numerous than the stars, for who could be saved when the king went to war? Amongst those prisoners was one, a daughter of the chief of the country — who so generous as Gezo, who had given her as largesse to his troubadour?"

"Some years ago, Gezo killed a traitor, called Ah-char-dee; his head adorns the palace of the king of kings, and who so worthy to wear his clothes? These (pointing to a tunic of puce silk, and a pair of damask crimson silk Turkish trowsers) were his; he had been a friend of Gezo's, and thus is his memory honoured."

He next sung in honour of her Majesty Queen Victoria, as friend to the king of Dahomey, and the greatest of white monarchs, as Gezo was of blacks: for which we gave him a beaker (two and half gallons) of rum.

These troubadours are the keepers of the

records of the kingdom of Dahomey, and the office, which is hereditary, is a lucrative one. It is the only form of education known to the Dahoman, except an almost similar one regulating the succession of the royal family, and amongst the higher classes, as the right of primogeniture would be laid aside if the firstborn could not gain by heart all the legends and tales, tragedies and histories, known by his parent.

Arrival of the king's sisters and daughters.

About an hour after our arrival, a host of the king's sisters and daughters arrived, attended by a guard of soldiers, bands, banners, umbrellas, and attendants, carrying changes of raiment, and each being attended by her stool-bearer, and umbrella. A canopy was soon formed, and each seated on a stool of office; all were showily dressed and ornamented with necklaces of coral and other beads, and under the orders of one elderly lady, the eldest sister of the king.

In vain the elder troubadour tried to please; the younger one was soon called, and won the hearts of the sable princesses

by singing of the exploits of the amazon army, and the praises of Gezo, the only monarch in the world who held an amazon army. When, after a time, he changed to another theme, the ladies rose *en masse;* and now followed a scene as derogatory to royalty as it was disgraceful to the sex: each produced a small bottle, which it appeared her prerogative to have filled with rum, and assailed the aged minister until all were satisfied; when, forming procession, they marched off to the next gate, where a similar scene was enacted.

A court fool strutted about, his face and hands white-washed, and wearing, besides gaudy attire, a slouched gold-laced hat; his witticisms caused much mirth, but the idiom was beyond our powers to understand.

The old chief and the troubadours.

All who approached the minister prostrated and kissed the dust, an unusual homage to any but the king, or fetish people. One aged cabooceer had the ear of the mayo, and by his whispering had completely drawn his attention from the mysteries of the revelation of the trou-

badour who angrily turned to the mob, and said, "the old man talked too much for a "Dahoman." A laugh ensued, which roused the ire of the aged officer, who asked sharply if they were laughing at him. "By no means," said the troubadour, who having regained the attention of the minister had resumed his good-humour, "they are laughing at me:" he then resumed his lay. After being seated for about two hours we rose, and looking in at the viceroy of Whydah's levee, were regaled with beer and lemonade gazeuse.

May 28th. — At 8 A.M., we were commanded to the king's presence, and in full uniform proceeded to the palace square. According to the etiquette of the Dahoman court, we were gazed at by the multitude for nearly an hour, surrounded by a host of ministers, cabooceers, and officers. During the customs, every morning at 6 A. M. each minister and cabooceer at the head of his retainers, and attended by his insignia of office, marched to the square, round which he passes three times, pro-

strating himself each time in front of the gate. During the ceremony, his soldiers dance, fire, and sing, while some fifty discordant bands try to out-noise each other in playing the royal quick step, the only tune I heard at Abomey. There is something fearful in the state of subjection in which, in outward show, the kings of Dahomey hold their highest officers; yet, when the system is examined, these prostrations are merely keeping up of ancient customs. And although no man's head in Dahomey can be considered warranted for twenty-fours, still the great chief himself would find his tottering if one of these customs was omitted. There is an iron tyranny which governs all, and over which none appears to have control.

On the left of the square is a long shed, in which the ministers and caboceers whose turn of duty it is, recline during the day, ready at call; and here we waited. Entering the palace, we were shown to the door of the audience chamber, and, displacing two magnificent pea-

cocks* his Majesty was feeding with corn, took our seats opposite a large couch bedstead, on which the dread monarch reclined. There were present the mayo, ee-a-boo-gan, camboodee, toouoonoo, and caoopeh, and their coadjutors in the harem; or, the grand vizier of Whydah, treasurer, head eunuch, and sub-treasurer.

A letter from her Majesty was, after a few compliments, handed to the king, who, breaking the seal, returned it to Mr. Beecroft to read.

Reading of her Majesty's letter to the king.

The letter was read in short sentences, and much conversation on the various points intervened. His Majesty "appeared" to receive the translation of its contents with pleasure, and promised to consider well the question "relative to the suppression of the slave trade in his dominions." He directed us to notice his customs well, and explained that we must remain spectators for at least six weeks.

The question of the amount of the

* Presents from the Royal Zoological Society, through the late Mr. Duncan, Vice-Consul.

royal disbursements at the customs caused much discussion among the ministers, and led to remarks from us that the palm oil trade, if cultivated, would, in a very few years, be far more lucrative than the slave traffic; and that if the productions that the soil of Dahomey was capable of were raised, Dahomey might be the richest nation in Africa.

The ministers and cabooceers, during the day, paraded the town at the head of their levees and pomp of state, showing themselves to the people: there was much noise of shouting, firing, and discordant music. On our return home we made up the royal present, which the mayo and the ee-a-voogan arrived to receive and take charge of to the palace.

May 29th. — At 7. 30 A. M. we were sent for by the king, and soon ushered into the *entrée* of the same audience chamber now occupied by an elderly dame, in the uniform of an amazon, called the "mae-hae-pah," a sort of "female grand vizier," and one whose name will figure often in

this journal. The old lady was very busy winding up eight Sam-Slick clocks! some upside down!! others on their sides, and one, by mistake, in its proper position. From this state we rescued them; but not before horrifying Abas-ego, the stately dame, by stepping one foot within the sacred precincts of the harem. The possibility of a recurrence was at once checked by the lady and toonoonoo (the head eunuch) placing themselves on their knees, one on each side the threshold, and thus passing the clocks to and fro. A watch and musical box succeeded, on the efficacies of each of which we were called to dilate. As nothing is considered finished that is not ended with a drink of strong water, we bowed to the mae-hae-pah in a glass of hollands and departed, being obliged to carry away a watch, of which (being rather stiff) I had broken the glass (in showing how to open it), and I had to replace it.

The commencement of the customs, Ee-que-ah-ek-beh.

At 10 A. M. commenced the custom called "Ee-que-ah-ek-beh," paying the troubadours. Passing through another gateway,

we entered on an extensive square. On the opposite side, under a rich canopy of umbrellas of every colour, and ornamented with strange devices, on a couch, reclined the king. In his rear, and on each side, sat his wives and female soldiers, in all about three thousand, all well dressed. The amazons in uniform, armed and accoutred, squatted on their hams, their long Danish muskets on end, with the stocks on the ground. Among the crowd of amazons were planted twenty-eight crutch sticks, painted blue, and each ornamented with a bandanna handkerchief; these were the sticks of office of the female troubadours, and each, in her turn, had to sing the romance of the history of Dahomey.

Where we stood was a sort of neutral ground, between the male and female position, not allowed to be passed by any male but the king, who remains, on these occasions, guarded by his amazons. Wallowing in the dirt, throwing dust on their heads, at our feet were the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan; just beyond them, on their

knees, the toonoonoo and mae-hae-pah, the former explaining to the latter our rank. The mae-hae-pah having reported our arrival to the king, we bowed three times, and facing about, took our position opposite the throne, in a crowd of thousands of ministers, cabooceers, officers, and soldiers (all on their hams), where a table bearing a silver liquor stand* and glasses, and, in the rear, chairs, marked our place. Among the males were also twenty-eight crutch-sticks of office of as many troubadours.

A strict silence reigned, save when broken, at short intervals, by the voice of a herald proclaiming aloud the conquests of the kings of Dahomey. The scene was novel, and the dresses (from colour) magnificent in appearance. We were no sooner seated than two troubadours advanced and introduced themselves; then (one at a time) sang, in metrical short

* Each day was a similar display; and no doubt in the king's idea we were well supplied, liqueurs and liquors of all kinds, but no wines or light drinks.

verse, the praises of the monarch — his exploits in war, his numerous conquests, the "glorious" achievements of his ancestors; and, as if sweet to the ears of the brother who had deposed him, desecrated the name of Adonajah, the dethroned monarch, as one unfit to reign over a brave warlike nation such as Dahomey. "Gezo," sang the troubadour, "was the choice of the nation! the liberal! the free-handed! who so generous as he? who so brave? Behold him, the king of kings! Haussoo-lae-beh Haussoo." At the mention of his father's, or any deceased relative's, name, all the cabooceers, ministers, and officers had to prostrate on the neutral ground and kiss the dust.

After a lengthened and fabulous account of the Attapahm war, they sang, in anticipation of future wars, "Who dares insult the king, and shall not be punished? There are three yet to conquer! Abeahkeutah, Tappur, and Yorubah: let the king name one, and it shall fall."

With much ceremony two large cala-

bashes, containing the skulls of kings, ornamented with copper, brass, coral, &c., were brought in and placed on the neutral ground. Some formed the heads of walking-sticks, distaffs; while those of chiefs and war-men ornamented drums, umbrellas, surmounted standards, and decorated doorways. They were, on all sides, in thousands; these calabashes were placed on a newly raised heap of earth, which, we were now told, covered the body of a victim, sacrificed last night, to be placed under the pole of the pavilion, to be raised for his Majesty's court for to-morrow's "custom." Each skull, in each of these calabashes, would form the illustration of a fearful tragedy; but as all would be tedious and disgusting I venture to relate one—the tragic murder of Ah-chardee, chief of the republic of Jena whose name has already appeared in this journal.

The murder of Ah-chardee, chief of Jena.

On-Sih, king of Jena, died, and the heir-apparent, Dekkon, hated and rejected by the chiefs and people, fled for protection to Abomey. Adonajah, king of Dahomey,

received him with regal state, but refused to march an army to assist him. Adonajah's mother was a Jena woman. The chance of so fruitful a slave hunt was too tempting to the Dahoman people: already disgusted with the cruelties of their monarch, they, with one consent, called his next brother, Gezo, to the throne; and Adonajah, seized in his harem, was confined in his palace; where, it is said, he remains to this day, a drunkard and a sensualist, enjoying every luxury money can purchase or war seize; wanting, however, the two great desires of our nature—liberty and power. The new monarch instantly headed an army, and marched on what was expected an easy conquest, attended by Dekkon.

In the meantime, Jena had declared herself a republic, and Ah-chardee, a brave and intrepid chief, who had been chosen as its president, repulsed the Dahoman army with great slaughter. A second, and a third year, and the slave hunt, was equally unsuccessful.

Gezoo now resolved to effect by stratagem what he had failed to do by force. He made an amicable peace, and the two chiefs swore eternal friendship; in order to cement which, hostages were sent to Jena, and the president invited to witness the Dahomey customs. He came, was loaded with honours and presents, aud sent back attended by an army as his guard. A second year, and again the same farce was enacted. The third year the hostages were neither sought for nor sent. The friendship was considered so firm, that Ah-chardee brought with him near 1000 traders; but soon found that a false friend is worse than a bitter enemy. Received as a chief, he attended the customs; but on the "custom" called Ek-quee-noo-ah-toh, he was seized, thrown to the executioners, barbarously decapitated, and all his traders made slaves, and many of them sold. Such is the story of Ah-chardee, whose skull is confined in a copper casing, and is one of the highest ornaments of this truly barbarian court.

Dekkon invited, returned to Jena, where he was seized and beheaded; the next annual slave hunt destroyed Jena, whose people are now wanderers, many of them, under the republican standard of Abea-Keutah, "under stone."

The female troubadours.

After two males had sung, two females stepped forward, singing in praise "of him," they said, "who gave them birth. We were women, we are now men; Gezo has borne us again, we are his wives, his daughters, his soldiers, his sandals. War is our pastime, — it clothes, it feeds, it is all to us." Repeatedly describing some particular exploit, they would call upon the multitude to laugh for joy at the glorious deeds of Gezoo. First the female court exercised their risible faculties; then the male set up a laughing chorus; at other times they called on all to join chorus, when the din was indescribable, as some fifty bands chimed in. After a second set of males had sung, a party of liberated Africans, dressed in European style, entered the court-yard, and, standing in front of the

throne uncovered, shouted thrice, Viva el Rey de Dahomey!

As a sort of interlude, Ah-hop-peh, the king's brother, opened a palaver about the propriety of removing the goods (to be given away) to the market before the actual day; that "there were many strangers," he said, "in the town and the temptation might be too much for them." "Besides," he added, "if any body did steal, even were he a king's son, he must suffer death, and that opportunity makes the thief." After some discussion about ancient rules, the king settled the matter by ordering that they should be removed at 4 A.M. of the morning of the day they were to be distributed.

At noon the king left his sofa, amid firing of guns and shouting of courtiers of both sexes, and, crossing the neutral ground, drunk a glass of liqueur with us. He was dressed in a blue flowered satin robe, sandals, and a gold-laced slouched hat, and wore a handsome gold chain. As he drunk all the male and female warriors danced

and sung, and fired off muskets; whilst the eunuchs held up cloths, that no man might see the king drink.

As each pair of troubadours finished their song, twenty-eight heads of cowries, twenty-eight pieces of cloth, four pieces of handkerchiefs, and two gallons of rum were presented — if to males by the mayo, if to females by the mae-hae-pah — with a lengthened speech on the liberality of the monarch. Who paid them so highly for remembering the glorious deeds of his ancestors? This present was for the two sergeants and their bands, in all about thirty people.

Food was passed round to every body, and a very good luncheon of fowls and stews sent to us. At 3 P. M., as it rained very hard, we asked and received permission to retire. The novelty of the scene was sufficient to keep away *ennui*, and had it not been for the constant repetition of extreme disgust at the filthy praise lavished on the monarch, we might have been more amused.

The real expenses of the custom, and the royal balance-sheet.

Arrived at our quarters, we made our calculation of the whole expenses, allowing that each of the twenty-eight couples received the same present as that already stated, as we were told the king would send in the evening his account of them. At the most liberal allowance we found that his Majesty might have paid to these keepers of the records or human archives 1698 dollars' worth of cowries and goods.

In the evening the mayo and ee-a-voogan arrived, followed by several blacks, carrying baskets of small white cowries, which we had to count, as they described the different sums, and their purposes. The account ran as follows: — Given at that day's custom, 7540 heads of cowries (which, let the reader understand, is about 76 hogsheads of cowries), 644 pieces of cloth, 92 iron armlets, 140 bottles of rum. That the king had thrown away that morning 400 heads of cowries to the people, and 40 pieces of cloth, and intended to scramble that night 800 heads of cowries. That the whole of the day's expenses to the

monarch were to the amount of 26,000 dollars!

I had expected his Majesty would endeavour to the utmost to deceive us with regard to his wealth, but this was too much; so sweeping the whole from the table, I told them, in plain English, they lied, and that if they could not bring truth, we would not think the better of them for telling such ridiculous falsehoods; and the sequel will show that such was the proper course. They never pursued this course a second time; and when they brought the grand total for the whole customs, it but little exceeded what they tried to make us believe had been disbursed in one day!

These extraordinary exaggerations have been before too well believed, and hence it is that this monarch's wealth has been so much enhanced: I believe it is quoted at 300,000 dollars a year!!

God help the mark! I fear his Majesty would decapitate the half of his prisoners of war instead of a tithe, if he had such

an income in place of an exchequer replenished, or not, at the slave-hunt. Before he took leave for the day, the mayo desired, on pain of death, that no one should walk out during that night, as the king was going to sacrifice. The terms used by the mayo must not be regarded as a threat, but as a friendly warning; for when the drum or gong passes through the streets to announce the commencement of the sacrifices, all who are found out of their houses are immediately seized and added to the list of victims. In the night, such a fate might by accident have befallen even a white man. Gezo, we are assured, has no delight in human sacrifices, and continues these awful scenes solely out of deference to ancient national customs. To-night he is to decapitate six.

EK-BAH-TONG-EK-BEH,

OR THE PROCESSION OF THE KING'S WEALTH

PART II.

THE EK-BAH-TONG-EK-BEH, OR DISPLAY OF THE KING'S WEALTH.

Summoned to witness the display of the king's wealth.

It was little more than seven o'clock of the morning when, on May 30th, we were informed that a royal messenger had arrived to summon us to the palace to witness the custom to be performed on this day — the Ek-bah-tong-ek-beh, or display of the king's wealth. At a little distance from our gate, the road was fenced off, and a guard set on the temporary gate, so as to prevent any one from entering who was not invited to bear a part in the proceedings of the day. They who wished to inspect the royal treasure and goods, which were to be shown to the people, assembled in the Ahjahee market-place. When we arrived in the palace-square, at the foot of the ladder leading to the palaver-house, on each

side were three human heads recently decapitated, the blood still oozing ; on the threshold of the entrance gate was a pool of blood from six human sacrifices, over which we had to step. In the square was a huge model of an elephant caparisoned on wheels, on which the king is drawn when going short journeys. The king never walks, nor rides on horseback; but is either carried in a hammock or drawn on this elephant or in a carriage or wheeled chair. In the centre of the court-yard stood a crimson tent or pavilion forty feet high, ornamented with emblems of human and bullock's heads, skulls, and other devices equally barbarous and disgusting. On the top was the figure of a Dahoman standard-bearer (or half-heads, as they are called, having half their heads shaved), bearing a standard, having for a device a skull in a calabash, standing on three other skulls. About the yard were many flags, of all colours, some bearing, as their devices, men cutting off others' heads, and others tying prisoners, and many national

flags, amongst which last were several union-jacks.

In and about the pavilion were the female host of ministers, cabooceers, amazons, wives, and virgins. The king had not arrived; all were gaily dressed, and, as yesterday, squatted, armed, and accoutred.

On the neutral ground, where we stood, facing the pavilion (while the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan grovelled in the dust, like Chinese mandarins ko-towing to the royal chair), roamed an ostrich, an emu, several dwarfs, hunchbacks, and albinos, besides troops of dogs almost of every country and variety. Having bowed three times, and exchanged signs with those two grave functionaries, diviners, and exchangers of the mysteries of the opposite sexes, the mae-hae-pah and too-noo-noo, we faced about and beheld much the same scene as that of yesterday, except that it was encircled by a far more gaudily dressed assemblage of chiefs and soldiers, grouped under umbrellas of every hue. All the ministers and caboo-

ceers were arrayed in red striped flowing robes, laden with necklaces of coral and other beads. Each wore a scimetar, a short sword, and a club.

Presently, under a salute of twenty-one guns fired from musketoons and small brass pieces within the court and cannon outside, the king arrived, dressed in a white silk flowing robe, flowered in blue, and a gold-laced hat, and took his seat on a sofa under the pavilion. Forthwith, the bands struck up, and the heralds proclaimed that Gezo, the Leopard and the Hawk, had taken his place; fifty-eight ministers and cabooceers at the same time marched passed three times in single file, and at the third time all prostrated and kissed the dust. So soon as this ceremony was concluded, the business of the day commenced, the Ek-bah-tong-ek-beh ("carrying goods to market"). This is a public display of the monarch's wealth, carried on the heads of slaves through the town to the market, and back again. The procession consisted of between 6000 and

7000 people; and in order to give an entire description of this despot's wealth, a programme of the whole will be annexed, while I shall, in this journal, merely give an outline.

The procession.

After the tedious prostrations of every officer, from the cabooceers to eunuchs, had been brought to a close, the king left his throne, and passing the neutral ground, came towards us. We rose to salute him; and after a few compliments, and explanations that owing to the heavy appearance of the weather the dresses were by no means gay, he returned to his throne. Some more prostrations of native traders from Whydah and Haussa Malams followed, and whilst some fourteen liberated Africans shouted *Viva el rey*, 200 male and 200 female officers kissed the dust. Forty female standard bearers next passed, preceding his Majesty's female relations, who all kissed the dust; and then followed in single file 2539 women, carrying various articles: then 1590 carried cowries. Many bore silver ornaments of all kinds; some large and ill-

shaped, fashioned by Dahoman artisans. Lest we should not fully appreciate his supposed wealth, Hootoojee and the king's artisan brother were seated in our vicinity to explain the value of the various articles. A reference to the programme will satisfy the reader that his Majesty could not have formed any precise idea of the actual use of some portions of his wealth, or he would not have exposed them to enhance the idea of his riches; a few carriages were drawn past, and, at intervals, ladies of the harem trooped by, attended by guards of amazons, "the royal banner, and all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," such as drums ornamented with one or two dozen skulls, interlaced with jaw bones. One umbrella, that shaded a sable princess, was decorated with 148 human jaw bones, and many of these ladies, besides being attended by slaves carrying swords and shields, bearing these ghastly ornaments, carried at their girdles each a polished skull drinking-cup: these latter groups did not leave the yard, but took up their positions under

trees, and, in opera style, sang and danced at times. Towards the evening, some 2000 amazons were collected in close column, under arms, and in their front all the ladies of the royal family and harem. Mingled with the procession would be groups of females from various parts of Africa, each performing the peculiar dance, of her country. When these were not being performed, the ladies would now seize their shields and dance a shield-dance; then a musket, a sword, a bow and arrow dance, in turns. Sometimes one would step forward and harangue the monarch in verse, whilst the chorus was taken up by all, the amazons and the rest of the people; and, lastly, having expended all their praises, they called upon the king to come out and dance with them, and they did not call in vain.

The king's dance.

The monarch, although a stately figure, is by no means a good dancer, yet what a king performs courtiers will ever approve. Loud shouts of applause crowned the royal exertions, and amid the din of

firing, shouting, singing, and dancing, his majesty, hidden as usual by cloths from public gaze, drank to his sable thousands of wives. The dance was a working of all the muscles of the body, the hands and feet moving to a quick step; there is nothing graceful, nor strikingly active, while to dance well requires great muscular labour.

These scenes were very enlivening, and certainly the most picturesque and theatrical of any out-of-door fête I have ever witnessed in any part of the world; but there was no wealth, no riches in reality, although the gaudy colours were equally pleasing to the eye. The collection of a country fair in England, carried in a similar manner, would by far have exceeded the wealth displayed, and the dresses of a minor theatre would, except in silver and coral, have excelled in point of value and show. Yet, in a country like Dahomey, it was an immense collection.

During the day, rum and food were distributed to all, and, as usual, a luncheon

was supplied to us. Our luncheon consists, daily, of fowl soup in a washhand-basin, and, generally, stewed fowls, mutton, besides a host of country dishes, rife with palm oil and peppers, yam, and cassado; the knives and forks I was strongly tempted to steal, as they were worthy, in point of antiquity, of the British Museum, and, like many of the royal treasures, might have been the property of Tocoodoonoo, the founder of Dahomey. Liquors and liqueurs were always before us.

The procession and groups consisted of between 6000 and 7000 people, and the amount of money displayed in cowries (the currency of Dahomey) was 5000 dollars, which, I should say from my experience, would be the whole of the royal exchequer, in that form of money.

The human victims.

There was much to disgust the white man in the number of human skulls and jaw bones displayed; but can the reader imagine twelve unfortunate human beings lashed hand and foot, and tied in small canoes and baskets, dressed in clean white

dresses, with a high red cap, carried on the heads of fellow-men.

These and an alligator and a cat were the gift of the monarch to the people — prisoners of war, whose only crime was that they were of the nation of Attahpahm, which nation Dahomey had picked out for destruction; and *væ victis!* These men were not soldiers, but agriculturists, not living in the protection of a town, nor found under arms, but discovered peaceably in possession of their farms; they had seen the aged of their families murdered, and the young and strong seized, and being chosen, were to become the sacrifices to the vitiated appetites of the soldiers, made by the monarch, who, to show his liberality, presented able-bodied, strong men as victims.

When carried round the court, they bore the gaze of their enemies without shrinking; at the foot of the throne they halted, while the mayo presented each with a head of cowries, extolling the munificence of the monarch, who sent it to them to purchase

a last meal, for to-morrow they were to die.

About three it rained hard, and we retired with much food for contemplation.

During the day, the mae-hae-pah and toonoo-noo were continually employed in passing messages from the king to us, concerning the different articles displayed. Much rum was distributed to the various attendants, and about 800 dollars in cowries to the different groups.

PART III.

THE EK-QUE-NOO-AH-TOH-MEH. — THE HUMAN SACRIFICES.

On the last day of May commenced the custom of the Ek-que-noo-ah-toh-meh, or throwing the presents from the Ah-toh. It is on this day that the human sacrifices are offered by the king, his gifts to his people. In the centre of the Ah-jah-ee marketplace, a platform was erected twelve feet in height, enclosed by a parapet breast high. The whole was covered with cloths of all colours, and surmounted by tents, gaudy umbrellas, and banners of varied hues and devices, among which, as usual, were several union jacks. On the west front of the Ah-toh, which must have been at least 100 feet square, was a barrier of the prickly acacia, and within this the victims for the day's sacrifice lashed in baskets and canoes as on yesterday. A dense

THE PLATFORM OF THE AH-TOH

naked mob occupied the area, whilst a guard of soldiers prevented them from bearing down the barrier. Beyond in all directions were groups of people collected round the banners and umbrellas of the different ministers and cabooceers.

The naked mob consisted of the soldiers of the king, his brothers and sons, the ministers and higher cabooceers: each carried a grass cloth bag round his waist; and the actual business of the day was a public display of the generosity of the king, who scrambles goods of all kinds among these warriors.

The king had preceded us, and, as we took our seats under a canopy to the right of the Ah-toh, his Majesty appeared on the platform, under the shade of a handsome umbrella of crimson velvet and gold, dressed in an old black waistcoat, a white night-cap, and a cloth round his loins; and was greeted with loud shouts from the military expectants, who now formed into bands, and carrying their officers on their shoulders, marched past the royal posi-

tion, the king's own taking the lead: this they did three times and then halted *en masse*, in all about 3000, immediately under the king's position, who harangued them on the impropriety of fighting during the scramble, and having thrown a few cowries by way of trial, commanded us to join him.

The platform.

Ascending the ladder, the appearance was truly novel: in three separate heaps, in different parts of the platform, were 3000 heads of cowries, several heaps of cloths, rum in kegs, and rolls of tobacco: one side was occupied by tents for the royal wives. While others were grouped about in different parts of the platform, in gaudy dresses, at the upper end stood the king surrounded by his ministers, and at the lower were, under canopies of showy umbrellas, two tables bearing liquors and glasses, one for the cha-cha, the other for ourselves. After taking our seats, we were directed to stand under an umbrella facing the mob, and now commenced in real earnest the scramble, the king labouring hard, throwing now cowries, cloth,

tobacco, &c. The cowries appeared to be the property of the lucky ones who caught them, but the cloths were instantly handed to the riders, and if not, a fight ensued that was terrible to behold.

The naked multitude emitted an effluvium only to be compared to the fetid atmosphere of a slave ship; and as the mass oscillated there arose a vapour like the miasma of a swamp, as they were perfectly bathed with perspiration.

Besides throwing gifts to the soldiers, his Majesty was all smiles, and liberality in his donations to the ministers, and a number of others (as a reference to the programme will show); but to no one was any large sum given. At one time he sent us a basket containing ten heads of cowries and two pieces of cloth as a present, and at another a constant supply of cowries and cloths to scramble among the mob.

Among the recipients of the royal bounty were two kings and several ambassadors, including one from Ashantee, called "Cocoa Sautee."

Towards noon the brigantine on wheels was drawn up outside the mob, and a boat on wheels put off to discharge her cargo of rum, tobacco and cowries, which were added to the heaps on the platform. The king's party of soldiers keeping together were evidently the principal recipients, and we soon found that something like an equal distribution among them was aimed at. A captain of musquetoon-men named Poh-veh-soh, at once a military officer, court fool and headsman, caught my attention, and I threw him three pieces of cloth full of cowries; on receiving the third, he was ordered off the ground. Rum was distributed to the *élite* on the platform; and a breakfast provided for us, besides food for the ministers and wives.

By two o'clock, one of the heaps of 1000 heads of cowries had been thrown away, and part of another given to the higher classes. Some three or four hundred pieces of cloth, a few kegs of rum, and rolls of tobacco having also disappeared, his Majesty retired to rest awhile.

Would to God that I could here close the account of this day's proceedings, simply detailing the barbarous policy of raising the worst passions of man, in order to make people believe in the profuse distribution of a pay, which, if doled out individually, would be a mere pittance. The crowd can have no idea of the sum scrambled for; all they know is, that a continuous shower is kept up for seven hours, and they consider it must be immense. Even if a man gets none, he is content to know that he has been unfortunate; and, should he proclaim his ill luck, he would not be believed, each supposing the other to be disguising the real quantity he has gained.

The deceitfulness of the distribution

During the royal absence a dead silence reigned as if by general consent; when by accident it was broken, it was reinforced by the eunuchs sounding their metal bells, tolling the knell of eleven human beings. Out of fourteen now brought on the platform, we, the unworthy instruments of the Divine will succeeded in saving the lives of

The human victims.

three. Lashed as we described before, these sturdy men met the gaze of their persecutors, with a firmness perfectly astonishing. Not a sigh was breathed. In all my life I never saw such coolness so near death. It did not seem real, yet it soon proved frightfully so. One hellish monster placed his finger to the eyes of a victim who hung down his head, but, finding no moisture, drew upon himself the ridicule of his fiendish coadjutors. Ten of the human offerings to the bloodthirsty mob, and an alligator and a cat, were guarded by soldiers, the other four by amazons.

Three are saved by us.

In the mean time the king returned, and, calling us from our seats at the further end of the platform, asked if we would wish to witness the sacrifice. With horror we declined, and begged to be allowed to save a portion of them. After some conversation with his courtiers, seeing him wavering, I offered him a hundred dollars each for the first and last of the ten, while, at the same time, Mr. Beecroft made a similar offer for the first of the four, which was accepted,

and the three were immediately unlashed from their precarious position, but forced to remain spectators of the horrid deed to be done on their less fortunate countrymen. What must have been their thoughts?

The place of sacrifice.

The king insisted on our viewing the place of sacrifice. Immediately under the royal stand, within the brake of acacia bushes, stood seven or eight fell ruffians, some armed with clubs, others with scimetars, grinning horribly. As we approached, the mob yelled fearfully, and called upon the king to "feed them, they were hungry." It was at a similar exhibition that Achardee (President of Jena), while looking into the pit with the king, was seized, thrown down, and murdered on the spot. Disgusted beyond the powers of description, we retired to our seats, where also the cha-cha had retreated; not so his brothers, for I regret to say they remained delighted spectators of the agonies of the death of these innocent victims.

"The parent Sun himself
Seems o'er this world of slaves to tyrannize;

> And, with oppressive ray the roseate bloom
> Of beauty blasting, gives the gloomy hue
> And feature gross; or worse, to ruthless deeds,
> Mad jealousy, blind rage, and fell revenge
> Their fervid spirit fires."
>
> THOMSON'S *Summer*.

The victims of the sacrifice, and the sacrificers.

As we reached our seats, a fearful yell rent the air. The victims were held high above the heads of their bearers, and the naked ruffians thus acknowledged the munificence of their prince. Silence again ruled, and the king made a speech, stating that of his prisoners he gave a portion to his soldiers, as his father and grandfather had done before. These were Attahpahms. Having called their names, the one nearest was divested of his clothes, the foot of the basket placed on the parapet, when the king gave the upper part an impetus, and the victim fell at once into the pit beneath. A fall of upwards of twelve feet might have stunned him, and before sense could return the head was cut off, and the body thrown to the mob, who, now armed with clubs and branches, brutally mutilated, and dragged it to a distant pit,

where it was left as food for the beasts and birds of prey. After the third victim had thus been sacrificed, the king retired, and the chiefs and slave-dealers completed the deed which the monarch blushed to finish.

There was not even the poor excuse that these men had committed a crime, or even borne arms against the Dahomans. No; they were murdered, innocent men, at least as far as their barbarous tyrant knew; and if not, may God forgive them in the world to come!

As we descended the ladder, we came on another scene of this tragedy. Each in the basket in which the victim had sat a few moments before, lay the grizzly bleeding heads, five on one side, six on the other. We could not have expected any mercy would have been shown, and therefore were prepared for this spectacle.

Murder must work its own suppression; and a nation that practises such foul deeds will, it is to be hoped, soon be forced to mend its ways and change its customs.

"There is no sure foundation set in blood,
No certain life achiev'd by others' death."

The expenses of the day to the king in all did not exceed 2,000 dollars, as heaps of cowries and other articles were still on the platform when we left, and all was over.

PART IV.

THE CUSTOM EK-BEH-SOH-EK-BEH, OR "FIRING THE GUNS."

June 1.—AFTER the distressing excitement of the tragedy of the sacrifices, it was with no little feeling of relief, that, on our return to the scene of yesterday's slaughter, we found the platform of the sacrifices removed, and the ground in course of being prepared for the great review, called the ek-beh-soh ek-beh. The stench of the blood still, however, pervaded the spot from which the slain had not been removed. The Ah-jah-hee market was now covered with numerous bodies of troops, male and female, forming and marching past our position in slow time. We thus had an opportunity of carefully counting their numbers, and made them out to be in all rather less than 7,000 under arms, of which 4,400 were males and the remainder

The review of the troops.

amazons. All were armed, accoutred, and dressed as nearly as possible alike, in blue and white tunics, short trowsers and caps, bearing the different devices of their regiments. First came the retainers of each cabooceer, then those of the ministers, the king's sons and brothers, and lastly, of the king.

The order was thus in each squadron: the armed men, the standard, stool, and other insignia, and then the officer under his umbrella of state, followed by a band. The amazons next marched by in similar array; each army had in its war drums, standards, war-stools, shields ornamented with human skulls, and other ghastly emblems of barbarous warfare.

Scarcely had the whole passed than the king arrived on the ground, carried in a state hammock with gaudy hangings. His Majesty was in tunic and short trowsers; the only ornaments were neat military accoutrements. To-day the whole nation was military; mother, wife, daughter, minister, even the hunchbacks and dwarfs, were

strutting by in all the pride of military array.

The king took his seat under a canopy of umbrellas, and placed us on his right: about the royal person were the ministers and high military officers; at the foot of the throne sat the too-noo-noo; and now in the distance, ready at call, appeared the mae-hae-pah, a soldier too. As soon as the king was seated, the troops, male and female, marched past in quick time; 77 banners and 160 huge umbrellas enlivening the scene; while 55 discordant bands, and the shouts of the soldiers as they hailed the king *en passant*, almost deafened the observers.

The skirmishing of the male guards.

The royal male regiments separating from the main body, headed by an emblem of a leopard on a staff, skirmished towards the royal canopy, keeping up a constant independent fire. In advance was a band of blunderbuss-men in long green grass cloaks, for bush service. Halting in front, they held aloft their muskets with one hand, while with the other they rattled a

small metal bell, which each soldier carried, and yelled and shouted. Some having light ornamented pieces, flung them into the air, to catch them again. This is the Dahoman salute; and in answer to it, his Majesty left his war-stool, and, placing himself at their head, danced a war-dance. First, he received a musket and fired it, then danced, advanced, and retired; he then crept cautiously forward, and, standing on tiptoe, reconnoitred; this he did several times, dancing each time a retreat: at last, making certain of the position of the enemy, he received and fired a musket, and this was the signal for all, with a war-cry, to rush on and recommence firing. On their recall, having again saluted, the king returned to his tent, and told us he had been to war.

The royal war dance.

The soldiers next saluted Domingo José Martins, the slave-dealer, who had just arrived from Whydah in sixteen hours (having placed relays of hammockmen along the road). They thanked him for muskets and powder he had given them for the

The honours paid to Domingo José Martins.

last war. Again they danced, saluted, and marched off.

The amazons' war dance and chorus.

The amazons now advanced in the same order, and having saluted the king he joined them, and again performed a war dance. They also sang in praise of the liberality of the slave-dealer, who gave them muskets and powder to make war upon innocent neighbours; to enrich himself by supplying the market with slaves. These are the evils to uproot: and yet this very man is directly trading with, and receives these muskets and this powder from, British agents in British shipping. The chorus of their song ran as follows: —

"Dae mee goo
Scotoo ah noo
Ah dae mee Gaezoo."

Which may be thus translated:

Domingo
Gave us muskets and powder
To fight for Gezo.

After much firing, the amazons took position to the left, and having formed a

canopy in the centre for their officers, who sat on stools, squatted on their hams. In this undignified but usual position, with their long Danish muskets standing up like a forest, they remained observers of the remainder of the operation. This now became a sort of military levee, at which each chief prostrated before the king, introduced his officers, and reported the numbers of his retainers.

The military levee.

Having taken ground at the further end of the field, one at a time, the squadrons enfiladed between two fetish houses, and commenced an independent open fire, and deploying into line, passed to the right of the royal stool, while the officers came up at double quick time, prostrated themselves, danced, fired muskets, and then received each as a mark of favour a bottle of rum. After the cabooceers had thus passed, the ministers performed the same ceremony. Among them was Señor Ignatio Da Souza, the slave-dealer and cabooceer, at the head of his brother the cha-cha's levies. As they danced down towards the royal seat, the

king left his throne, and went out and danced with him.

The procession of the military fetish.

A regiment advanced guarding the idols of the military fetishes, the king again left his stool, and poured some rum on black puddings of human blood which were carried by the fetish priests. At seven the last body had passed, that of the mayo's company of 300 men, which ended the review.

Order and discipline were observable throughout, uniform and good accoutrements general, and except in the most civilised countries in the world, and even there as regarded the order of the multitude, no review could have gone off better. There was no delay, no awkwardness, no accident: aides-de-camp were rushing about with orders; it was noble and extremely interesting. Every facility was offered us towards acquiring information, and, except an exaggeration in numbers, truly given. The king has great pride in his army and often turned to us with an inquiring eye as the amazons went through their evolutions: he is justly proud of these female

guards, who appear in every way to rival the male.

The visit of the mayo.

June 2nd. — Sunday, and by good luck no barbarous customs enacted that we were called upon to witness, although an intimation that we were not to walk abroad at night, told of foul murder. The mayo called. He is a little old man with good Roman features, nothing of the negro, about seventy-five years of age, and a confirmed slave-dealer, his forefathers were, and he has been such all his life. Here is a difficulty: the power of the mayo is very great, the monarch dare not enter into a treaty unless the miegan and the mayo coincide. The miegan, a man of forty, is also a slave-dealer by descent, as also are the camboodee and ee-a-voo-gan, reaping all the benefits, and deriving luxuries, from a trade of which they have not sense to know the horrors. In conversation, the minister complained that British goods could not be had in the same quality as those sold in former years; and, producing a piece half silk half cotton, he said the king had had

it twenty years, and had directed him to ask if we could procure more. Having explained to him that an honest-minded British merchant would not trade with slave-dealers, and that such as did trade could not be expected to offer good articles, we promised to make a note of the royal wish.

Mr. Beecroft showed him some silk handkerchiefs, such as are bartered on the rivers, and told him if he would grow palm oil he might have ship-loads of such; and explained to him the position of the natives in those countries that had relinquished the barbarous infamous slave trade, and had become civilised by intercourse with honest traders, and the all-civilising powers of trade, but I fear to little purpose. Pocketing two gold rings and a handkerchief he bid us good-bye, explaining that the slave trade was very lucrative, and it would take some time to grow the palm-trees.

Repetition of the ek-bah-tong-ek-beh.

June 3rd.—At half-past seven we entered the palace yard of Dange-lah-cordeh. At the

steps of the palaver house were again six newly cut off heads, and a pool of human blood lay clotted on the threshold of the entrance-gate. To-day was a repetition of the custom called "ek-bah-tong-ek-beh," "carrying goods to market," and a beautiful day.

As we entered there was a perfect blaze of dress; the ministers in long cloaks of crimson silk velvet, highly ornamented with gold embroidery. The king wore a large slouched hat, covered with gold lace and tassels, a satin white robe, with blue flowers, and sandals almost of solid silver; you could not see the leather. The amazons were in scarlet and crimson tunics, and their officers ornamented with gold embroidery.

The principal ladies of the harem, and elderly female ministers, and those holding the rank of royal mother, grandmother, &c., up to the sixteenth generation, were magnificently dressed in silks, satins, and velvets, hats and plumes of the time of Charles the Second. But these rich dresses

did not save the wearers from the eternal prostration. As before, the amazons towards the afternoon had collected round some trees, and in front were the paussee, a collection of royal wives, who sang, danced, and declaimed at intervals, in the fashion of an opera; while the procession passed carrying goods to market, for the particulars of which the reader must turn to the Appendix.

Many of the articles were the same, except that for the cowries, cloths, silks, and satins were substituted. A great number of carriages were drawn past, of all sizes, from the family coach to the Bath chair, some handsomely carved: one, a glass-coach, the handiwork of Hoo-ton-gee, a native artist — a square with four large glass windows, on wheels. Some of the positions taken up were beautifully picturesque.

The too-noo-noo and mae-hae-pah were very busy between the king's and our position, carrying reports of the value and age of different articles. Among the display

was a wooden model of a hill in the Kangaroo country, considered by the natives impregnable, but taken by storm by the Dahoman amazons. To inspect this we were called to the neutral ground.

The late Mr. Duncan, with a military eye, requested to be allowed to view this fortress, as he travelled by it attended by a Dahoman guard, on his way to the Kong Mountains; the request was indignantly refused, with an intimation that he had better quit the neighbourhood as early as possible. For this "insult" the king of Dahomey made war. The hill was surmounted by a large city built on a table land, perpendicular in the rear and sides, and sloping down to a point in front; this was guarded by a high stone rampart, and entered only by one gate. On the hill were two tanks for water in case of siege, and on the right side a deep cave for the besieged to retreat to. On this side the rampart was escaladed by "Ee-ah-wae," one of the amazon generals, who, as "English mother," had the post of honour; and her

club of office is planted on the model, where it stands out of all proportion.

We were next called to inspect a battery of wall pieces and blunderbusses, besides a seven-barrelled arquebuse. His Majesty sent to say that he wanted a few more; but, said the mayo, pointing to one with a percussion lock, not of that useless kind, but flint locks.

Towards the close his Majesty invited us into his tent, to the undisguised astonishment of 200 wives and virgins who squatted around the throne, a large sofa, on which were some European children's toys, as dogs and cats, and over which was a pure white large umbrella. Although the tent was forty feet high, and very thick, several dimple-faced ladies sat under crimson velvet parasols, covered with jewels. These were the favourite wives. His Majesty having explained to us that the tent was very old, requested me, as I was going to England, to convey his hopes that her Majesty would send him out two more.

The whole procession having passed, and

all the actors being on the stage, now singing and shouting a chorus to a laudatory lay of an ex-wife of the chamber, at 6 P.M. we took leave, attended to the centre of the outer court by the king and all his court, and were directed to take dinner, and be ready to attend his Majesty on a night excursion.

The night excursion.

At 7 we again started, and followed the royal host of males, the amazon host bringing up the rear, to the Ah-jah-ee market, where the king and nobles assembled to eat pork puddings in a temporary canvass shed. We were supplied with a large calabash full of these dainties, but as it was very dark we did not eat of them. The king sent us a present of four heads of cowries, and, taking leave, we reached home at 10. His Majesty's expenses in gifts would be about 300 dollars' worth of cowries.

June 4th. — By royal desire, we attended this morning to measure the tent and sofa, and take a plan of it, that the new ones should be like it. In the yard were arranged 800 heads of cowries, and

about one pipe of rum; these, we were told, were to pay the parties employed yesterday, and about 200 heads were given away before we left. In the evening the mayo, whom we had been constantly attacking on the subject, brought the three victims we purchased. The reason they had not been sent before was obvious from the emaciated appearance of one, who was suffering from dysentery brought on by fright; we gave him some diarrhœa powder, which soon relieved him, and we clothed and fed the whole.

Our daily life.

June 5th. — Every morning we rise at daylight, and take a long walk. The roads in all directions are beautiful, and the scenery still more so; in the immediate neighbourhood the farms are very neat, and the cultivation in high order; game is abundant, and constantly rising close to the road. At 7 we take a cigar, and breakfast at 8; then, unless a custom day, write until 4, walk till 6, and dine; after which stroll till 8; then a cigar, a glass of grog, and to bed.

Several grandees, besides sending their sticks in the morning, have called; among them, the Chief of the Hunchbacks, who is a great man. Numbers of the royal family have also paid us visits; but as each expects a present, we are not over-anxious for the honour. To-day the king's artisan brother called, and, seeing he had interrupted us in our writing, soon took leave, saying, "I am a working man myself, and when employed do not like visitors."

When we are out walking everybody is very civil indeed; yet the king directs our interpreters, on pain of punishment, not to let us go alone: thus we have, generally, three or four followers. This is not so much with an idea that any one would insult us, as that we might infringe on the jealousy of the fetish men by unguardedly entering into the precincts of sacred ground. Thus, for instance, on leaving the Cannah gate one morning, I found one of the two roads which lead from it closed by a spar laid across; passing down the other, I was told this was the first day of the new moon, and

that the road would be closed until the next moon, when the thoroughfare would again be changed. If a native passes this sacred ground with his hat on, he is seized, and, unless he can pay pretty handsomely, kept in prison, and sold to pay his debts there incurred.

June 6th. — We are constantly annoyed in our walks at finding one or other of the roads closed; and, as for attempting some leading to the palace, we find that almost useless; the bells of the sable beauties are constantly warning man to run and hide himself. I was one morning near three quarters of an hour endeavouring to enter the Cumassee gate, from the constant succession of royal wives carrying food from one palace to the other. This morning, as we were leaving, we were desired not to go to the eastward, as 4000 of the king's wives (amazons, &c.) were gone forth to bathe.

Liberated Africans.

A body of liberated Africans called upon us; some had paid 300 dollars in Bahia and Rio for their freedom, men from Yori-

bah and Bornou, and had landed in high hopes of reaching their country. Such was not their lot ; they were compelled to trade in Whydah ; nor can they leave it, unless with the chance of being again sold, if caught by the Dahoman guards. They are obliged to give up their trade, and attend the annual customs, spending, as they explained, their year's gains in the journey.

Many of them are slave-dealers ; indeed, one of the greatest slave-merchants, José Almeida, is one of their class. An African, a *soi-disant* servant now of Hutton and Co., arrived on a mission from that house to the king, concerning some duties paid for the trade at Badagry ; this is the man spoken of in my former journal, a well-known "friend" to the slave-trade.

The viceroy of Whydah.

June 7th.—Walked to a country called Dehkon, the hereditary possession of the viceroy of Whydah ; but the king, who is father of the nation, takes great liberties with his subjects' rights and privileges. On appointing Dagbah to the vice-regal stool at Whydah, the king called upon his

second brother to assume the chiefdom of the clan (for such is the proper term for African families), and Dagbah has now the privilege of being considered lord and master only when, as the eldest son, he makes the yearly sacrifice to the tombs of his ancestors, and keeps customs for his whole clan. This is a custom observed by all Dahomans; and they set a table, as they term it, and invite friends to eat with the deceased relatives, whose spirits are supposed to move round and partake of the good things of this life. Even my interpreter, Madi-ki Lemon, who pretends to despise the belief in fetish, sets a table to his ancestors, and will tell you that his grand or great-grandfather, Corporal Lemon, makes a meal on this occasion which will last him till the next annual feast.

Feast of the spirits of the dead.

At half past nine, we again entered the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh. We were ushered into an inner court, the door of which was ornamented with two human skulls. The court was in shape a parallelogram, one of the lengthened sides being

The custom of paying the ministers and great officers.

occupied by a long low-roofed building, in the centre of which were two canopies of coloured cloths, one for the king and his first wives, the other for the females of the blood royal. At the further end stood three small tents, the centre one surmounted by a large silver ostrich, with outstretched wings, under which were two real ostrich's eggs; the other two covering each a large glass chandelier. As usual there was a neutral ground, on one side of which sat the amazons; on the other we occupied the principal position, surrounded by ministers, &c. On the neutral ground were the ornamented skulls of kings; and on their knees, engrossed in serious converse, the too-noo-noo and mae-hae-pah. As usual the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan were prostrate in the dirt, while we bowed to the king; and a band of singers and music called upon the assemblage to look with pride at their king, visited by ambassadors of all nations and colours.

We were no sooner seated, as usual with several bottles of strong waters at our dis-

posal, than a herald stepped forward, and called the camboodee (treasurer) and too-noo-noo (eunuch), who, prostrating, crawled to a crimson velvet cloth in front of the royal seat, on each side of which they sat to superintend the disbursements which the generosity of the monarch bestowed on his officers. The herald having called the miegan, who was sick, next called the mayo. The aged minister flung himself into the dust, and crawled on to the crimson cloth, where he knelt, and received in his robe (a handsome highly embroidered sky-blue cloth) from the royal hand 16,000 cowries, and 8 dollars, with which he staggered to the rear, when, having counted them, he returned, knelt, and threw dirt on his head and arms. What a state of subjection, when it is understood that this man pays 2000 heads of cowries annually to the king!

In this way followed the several ministers, cabooceers, traders, and high officers, a list of whom is annexed; the greater part receiving only a head and a half of

cowries, but all performing the same degrading and disgusting ceremony. The royal bounty was extended to strangers; the cha-cha and ourselves received each six heads of cowries, but instead of kotowing we drank health in gin.

In the courtyard were two crown birds and a beautiful gazelle. Heralds proclaimed the royal titles, and sycophants extolled in flowing language the liberality of the monarch. Several court fools exercised their wit and ingenuity.

The court fools and their tricks

Poh-veh-soo, the headsman and fool, before named, has a coadjutor in the harem; this pair of ruffians were marked round the eyes and mouth with whitewash, thus giving the head the appearance of a skull. As an interlude, about noon, the gates of each end of the quadrangle were thrown open, and a party of men and women, jaded and overladen, the former headed by Poh-veh-soo the latter by his coadjutor, were seen to advance towards the king's position. It would appear to require all the care and attention of the master and mis-

tress to keep their overladen carriers from dropping: they wiped off the perspiration, fed them with corn, rubbed their joints, and did all they could to make their large loads bearable. At last they reached the foot of the throne; and in the middle of a speech made by Poh-veh-soo, and interlarded by his coadjutor, in which they explained that from a great distance they had brought these baskets of corn and burdens of fire-wood, to present them to the most liberal generous monarch in the known world, exhausted nature apparently gave way, the carriers tottered, and falling exposed baskets of shavings and straw, and bundles of pith of bamboo.

Another fool rolled to the foot of the throne in a bag, and imitating the call of the guinea-fowl, pecked up the corn which the king threw to him in the shape of cowries, which act of liberality was at once lauded by the sycophants and other courtier fools.

The court dwarfs and giants.

Poh-veh-soo, in the mask of a monkey, helped himself liberally to quantities of food,

now brought in to be distributed among the assembled thousands All the sublime and ridiculous of the court were assembled in the palace yard to-day: men of all heights, from giants to the dwarf of inches, hunchbacks, albinos, and all that is hideous in the human race, besides beautiful birds, the gazelle, and dogs of all kinds. Altogether there were given away about 800 heads of cowries. On leaving, I asked my interpreter how many heads of cowries he thought had been given away; at first he could not answer, then he said more than 10,000: such is the idea the Dahomans have of the liberality of their king. In the afternoon we went to the Ah-jah-ee market. The supply was small, but few fowls, &c.; every thing appeared more in sample than the supply of a four days' fair.

June 8th. — Visited the Beh-kon market; similar to the one yesterday. Called on the mayo on duty at the court; he was reclining on a mat together with the other officers on duty.

Supplies of Examining an old tree in our yard I ob-

served two small eggs, and presently a large shell snail dropped from the hollow to protect them; these eggs are frequently found in old trees in all this part of Africa. food and water.

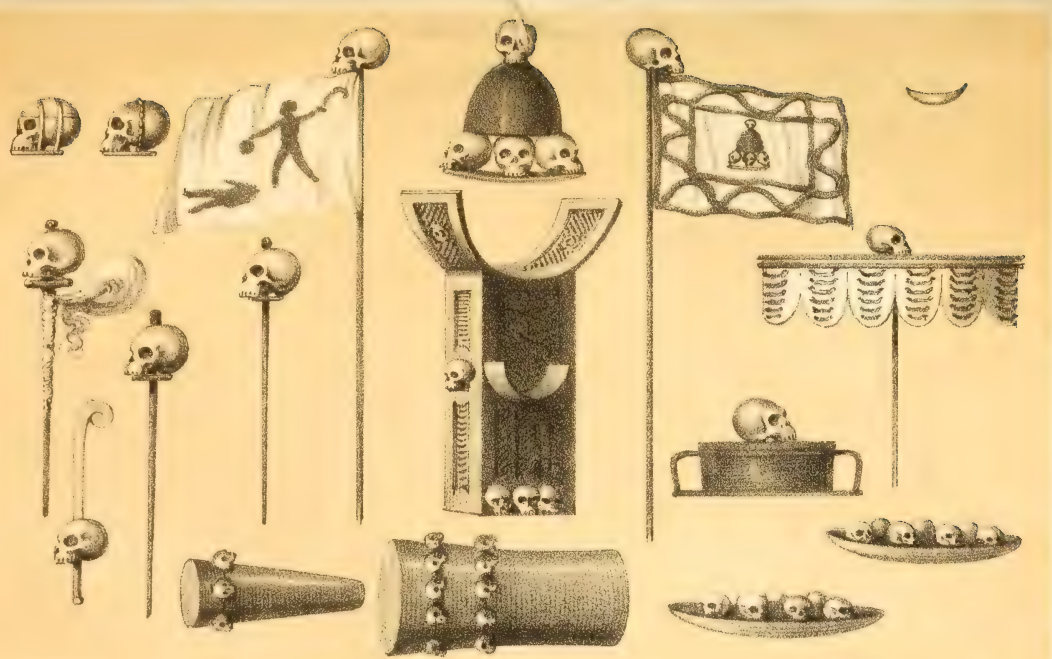
Our stock has become short, and the demands of the numbers of strangers make every thing scarce, an egg not to be had, nor do the Dahomans "waste" their time in growing fruits. Yesterday we sent a distance of twenty miles to procure eggs and oranges, and to-day have abundance. Pretty good mutton, guinea-fowls, pigeons, fowls, and ducks, are almost always to be had; the pork is by no means tempting. Just outside our gate are the city shambles. Not much is killed, generally five to ten pigs, and as many goats. Every portion is saved and cooked at once, the blood alone being thrown to the turkey-buzzards; yet ten cowries, one farthing, will procure a sizeable piece of meat and pepper sauce. Provisions for the poor are cheap, except water, which is 2*d.*, 3*d.*, and 4*d.* a pot; and the poor go for a length of time without water. At daylight there are numbers of providers, and for a

very few cowries, about a halfpenny, a very substantial breakfast can be procured, hot and oily with chillies and palm oil. The Dahoman can be abstemious, but if he has not to pay for his dinner, he will eat till he cannot walk, and then lie and wallow, suffering under indigestion, and, like a boa constrictor, too full to move.

Our attendants.

June 9th. — The Brazilians have been closeted all day with the king, I fear with no good wishes to the prosperity of our mission. We have twenty-six hammock-men, twenty carriers, and forty women ditto, besides headmen and their servants, two interpreters (one of whom has two wives and five attendants), two valets, one cook, and two house-servants. Besides these the mayo appoints a man to get wood, one to get water, one to take messages, and another to clean the yard, and all their appointments are sinecures; while two old wretches, whom I have nicknamed turkey-buzzards, are ever prying about, picking up what they can. Besides the above and our three "saved," if the king sends a

EK GNEE NOO AH-TOH



M A N HANHART LITH

SKULL ORNAMENTS & BANNERS OF DAHOMEY.

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, & LONGMANS & Co. 1856.

present of food, eight or ten hulking fellows attend it; and more than its value has to be given them in rum, and about a gallon daily to the bearers of sticks with their masters' compliments. The subsistence, as it is termed, for carriers and hammockmen, when, like ours, lying idle, is three strings of cowries, or 3*d.*, for men, and two for women, per day. Every week it costs us upwards of ten heads of cowries merely to subsist our people, and about fourteen gallons of rum, which articles (besides cost) will require four men to bring them from Whydah.

These "our people," as they are termed, expect every now and then a present; and this evening we indulged them in a beaker of rum, but not before they had earned it. Forming a ring, we took our seats at the upper end, and lighting our cigars soon collected a vast crowd. The dance is no doubt hard work, but unseemly and indelicate, being a constant working of arms and legs, calling every muscle into play. Men and women all dance alike. After receiving

a present, it is customary to assemble an hour after and return thanks.

The king's wives, and their petty trading.

A blacksmith living near the gate has for a long time determined to be friends with me, and to-day he brought some fresh eggs, which he explained were purchased from the harem. It appears that a male guard is on the outside of each gate, and the very elderly ladies are allowed to sell the little hoards of the sable wives.

Female relatives are allowed ingress and egress at all times.

As a protection against adultery, the fetish people plant a charm under the threshold of the entrances into the palace harems; and the people believe, if a woman has gone astray, the charm has the power of communicating a bowel disease: however that may be, the belief is so strong that many have imagined themselves ill and confessed the name of the lover, whereupon both have been beheaded.

June 10*th*.—Walked for the second time to the magnificent view, about five miles from Abomey, already described by me.

As the king had sent to say he would pass our door in the afternoon, we, with much regret, returned. On passing the palace gate, his Majesty was honouring Domingo José Martins, on taking leave, with a review of three regiments of amazons. This millionnaire, at the desire of the king, and to his own interest, had visited the customs, but was now returning to Porto Novo to load two English vessels, the Foam and another. No one doubts that Domingo José Martins is the greatest slave-dealer in all Africa; or if he does, ask him, and he will not dispute the title; yet he carries on a vast trade in British vessels.

The royal ballet.

According to etiquette, we descended from our hammocks, whither we had retreated from the sun's heat, and made our bow to the king, who drank healths with us, and asked if we had brought him any specimens from the bush. We told him our canteen preceded us, but we would send him samples of the good things that grew there on our arrival at our quarters. His Majesty then begged we would, when

we had changed our clothes, come and witness some dancing. We took leave, and in an hour returned, having sent him five beakers of rum, two case bottles of gin, and two of liqueurs. Martins had left, but we were entertained with some really good dancing in the ballet style. Among the dancers was one of the king's sons, and a nephew. The band at times did not please, and one of the dancers would step out and sound the notes to them. After the males had performed, a party of amazons took their place; but, as it began to rain very hard, we had to leave. Soon after our return home, his Majesty sent, as a present to us, two bullocks, corn-flour, peppers, palm oil, and salt.

Royal procession from Dange-lah-cordeh.

At 6 P. M. his majesty passed in procession from the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh to that of Dahomey. First came the caboceers, each with his retainers, band, and official gear; then the ministers, followed by the king's levies, in the centre of whom was the royal hammock, of crimson and gold. At our gate they halted, and a bottle

of rum was sent from the royal hammock. After it came the display of skulls, before described as part of the martial array of each army; separated by about a hundred yards was the amazon host, in the centre a similar hammock and similar skull ornaments, and at a halt the present of another bottle of rum left it a matter of conjecture whether the king was guarded by the male or female guards; lastly came the eunuchs and camboodee with his retainers.

In the evening Martins called to take leave, and sat a long time. The conversation was entirely on the trade: he said he made 80,000 dollars last year by palm oil, that the slave and palm-oil trade helped each other, and that in connection he did not know which was the most profitable. He was very civil in offering us any thing his house could afford at Whydah, which, of course, we thanked him for, but did not take advantage of.

PART V.

THE KING'S COURT OF JUSTICE.*

June 11*th.* — To-day commenced the debates and trials, which proved very interesting. At these trials the king is the judge in an open court, in which a comment may be made by any individual on the conduct of other or others in the last war; and if the charge be substantiated, punishment follows. Great liberty of speech is enjoyed, and distinction of rank laid aside. Interlaced with attacks and defences, were many lengthened speeches in praise of the monarch and his liberality.

The day's proceedings took place in the

* In my first journal I have given a curious illustration of the power possessed by any headsman of a village to hold a royal court. The proceedings which occupied this day afford an additional illustration of the equity and freedom of speech which characterise the judicial proceedings of the barbarous nation.

palace of Dahomey, the ancient palace of the present race of kings. About 230 years ago, Tah-coodoonoo, the chief of the state of Fahie, made war on Abomey, and in the conquest accomplished a vow to the fetish, in ripping open the bowels of the chief "Dah," and placing the mangled remains under the foundation of a palace built in commemoration, aptly naming it Dahomey, or Dah's belly; hence the kingdom of Dahomey. It was in this palace that the royal family and military power of Dahomey met to-day to "water the graves" of Tah-coodoonoo and his family.

Africa is fraught with wars. For nearly a century Dahomey could barely repel the attacks of her neighbours. In the early part of the eighteenth century, Guadjah Trudo ascended the throne, a warlike prince; and from this reign may be dated the military fame of the Dahomans, although for nearly a century they remained tributary to the Eyeos, who are reported to have brought 100,000 horsemen into the field.

Origin of the human sacrifices.

Guadjah Trudo conquered Whydah and the other nations lying between Abomey and the sea, and thus opened an extensive slave trade with foreigners. This has continued unabated ever since, though troubled at times by the Popoes, a warlike nation on the west "sea coast," who harboured the people of Whydah, and by lagoon communication gave the Dahomans much trouble in their new conquest.

Sacrifices were inherent with the Dahomans, but this monarch instituted the "Seque-ah-hee;" and to keep up the frightful bloody fête, upwards of 200,000 human beings have been murdered. His grandson Ada Hoonzoo, the grandfather of the present monarch, first raised the amazon army, but not to its present extent, and died the M'Adam of Africa, leaving roads leading to his capital as broad as Pall Mall, and as suited to the country traffic as ours are to that of England.

Decapitation was not considered a sufficient mode of sacrifice, and this African Nero would first have their ears cut off,

their eyes gouged, their nails drawn, and on the fourth day after these terrific sufferings, end them with death. Agon-groo, the father of the present king, appears to have been a weak monarch, and during his reign he had to flee from the Eyeos. The Mahees, Anagoos, and Attahpahms also at times made inroads. He was succeeded by his son Adanazah, whose fate is uncertain: generally hated, he was, by the will of the people, deposed, and Gezo reigns in his stead. The latter monarch has conquered nearly all his neighbours, and considerably increased the extent of the kingdom of Dahomey. Among other acts, he has declared Ashantee subjugated, and built an enormous palace called Cumassee (the name of the capital of Ashantee) in commemoration.

The male and female armies, and their officers.

It may be still necessary to add a few explanations about the relative position of the two armies of Dahomey. Considered as one army, it is in two brigades, the miegan's and the mayo's, the right and the left, which are also called the agaou's and the possoo's (the titles of the generals). In

the right there are two miegans and two agaous, a male and an amazon; and the same equivalent rank is carried down to the private in each brigade, male and female. These relationships in military rank are called father and mother; and, as will appear, the male soldier, when accused, appeals to his "mother" to speak for him. Besides this military balance of power, all strangers visiting Abomey have "mothers" at once appointed, whose duty it is to send daily a quantity of food, as from the king (dabadab and palm-oil stews), and who in return expect a present. Our "mother," Ee-ah-wae, it will be remembered, is a very brave soldier. The soldiers, male and female, are all slaves, fed and clothed by their owners, and receive no pay, except what has been shown as given by the king during the customs: but war in Dahomey is a trade, and each soldier is a trader, the annual slave hunt forming the market. A price is set on each prisoner and each head, and the soldier is constrained to sell to his lawful master. As

the king has about 2,000 males and 5,000 amazons, together with those male soldiers contributed to the hunt by each town and district, he necessarily becomes a very extensive slave-procurer, at the risk, of course, of his own slaves, and at the expense of their keep, and the trifling percentage at which he purchases them.

The description of position on this day's fête will answer for all those of the "Seque-ah-ee," as most of the courts were similar, and the tombs in nothing differing. Under a canopy constructed in the roof of a low thatched building forming one side of the court called "Ah-goh-doh-meh," in the Dahomey palace, on a rich mat reclined the king; as usual attended by his host of female ministers, ladies of the blood, wives, amazons, and maidens. On the neutral ground were the skulls of kings, and strewed about large pieces of cooked meat, gorging on which were thousands of turkey-buzzards flying about with sickening familiarity. On the opposite side, facing the royal mat, we sat, surrounded, as usual, by the ministers,

The Seque-ah-ee.

cabooceers, and officers. In our front was a band of singers. On the left stood three small thatched mud huts, and in the doorway of each was a pillar of cloth. Each hut was surmounted by a large silver ornament, and encircled by thousands of human skulls, thigh, jaw, and other bones. These were the mausoleums of Tah-coodoonoo and his family, and the skulls those of the sacrifices to their memory.

As we entered, the singers were singing in praise of the achievements of the Dahoman arms, and reciting the account of the Attahpahm war. It appeared probable that the charges had already been planned, as the singing is all practised beforehand, and is well considered. The rehearsals with the males take place in shaded groves, and with the females in the enclosure of the camboodee's house, the latter attended by eunuchs.

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh (one of the amazon generals) addressed them, and gave them a military and vivid description of the regaining the ground after the male army

under the agaou had fled, and told them to remember in their songs, that the amazons saved the war: "to them the praise of minstrels was due."

Ah-hoh-peh (one of the king's brothers) said that Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh spoke truth, "the amazons had saved the Dahoman army from destruction."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, addressing the king, said: — "The Attahpahms have sought refuge in the Ahjah country; let the war be made on Ahjah: and remember, before you go to war again, that part of 'your sons' (the male army) ran away in Attahpahm."

Ah-hoh-peh considered that the portion that gave way were not properly armed.

The soldiers thus charged with cowardice came forward and prostrated themselves on the neutral ground, and kissed the dust.*

* Although the agaou's name will often appear during these debates, there remained no doubt in my mind that he had been killed in the Attahpahm war. If a great officer be killed, it is generally considered proper to give out that he has returned, and soon after (being reported sick) he is said to have died a natural death; thus, the neighbouring countries fail to hear

King (to the accused). — "Your chief knows more about counting cowries than the art of war. The prisoners this war were few. If men run like goats, and are not followed, is it likely they will halt to be caught?"

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh.—"I cautioned them to be wary."

Another Amazon. — "If the king eats out of a plate, must it not be washed before used again? My musket after use requires oiling." *

An Amazon. — "Oh, king! give us Bah to conquer."

Another.—"Let Ahjah be the seat of war. Oh, mayo! lay this request before the king, that he cause you to send messengers to Ahjah to call upon the Attahpahms to collect and fight again, on pain of being at-

the truth of the history of the wars. Each day he has been reported ill, as also the mayo; but on distribution days cowries have been sent to the mayo, but not to the agaou, besides which the natives themselves prevaricated when closely questioned.

* Recommending punishment on the accused, or cleansing him of his sins.

tacked in Ahjah. They invited Gezo to war, and ran away."

Mayo. — "I have already sent messengers telling their chief, that, if the Ahjahs or others offer protection to the Attahpahms, the king will send an army to destroy them."

An Amazon (addressing the king). — "For my part I am in debt for my provisions for last war, I must go again to get money, whether you decide on Bah or Ahjah. My proverb is, 'Give a dog a bone and he will break and eat', so will we the town of our enemy."

A procession of fourteen chiefs of *demoiselles du pavé* now passed before the king, and prostrated themselves and kissed the dust.

Mayo (to the amazons). — "Explain at once your wishes, that the king may know them. If this is to be a war palaver, should not the agaou be present?"

A stormy debate ensued, in which the amazons persisted in charging a portion of the male army with cowardice; asserting that the weight of the action thus devolved

upon them: they were overloaded, and to be overloaded was to be made a laughing-stock of. The men tried to cry them down by shouting and hooting; when the amazons resorted to singing —

> "If soldiers go to war,
> They should conquer or die."

Ah-loh-loh-poh-loh-gan. — "The amazons are sweet-mouthed in their speeches. Let the king command, and the agaou will reduce the enemy."

Possoo. — "Let the king send me: I will do my best. There has been too much palaver about nothing."

A Soldier.—"The king has already made sacrifices to the river Mono. We are ready to exterminate the Attahpahms or die."

The river Mono lies on the road to Attahpahm, and as each forest, river, sea, &c., is supposed to be under the direction of a spirit, it is usual to sacrifice to them before crossing.

Ek-boh-sah (a military officer.) — "If we are not able to conquer Bah, we had

better acknowledge it, and leave it to some other nation." (It is the third year Abeah-keutah and Bah have been asked for.)

Toh-kol-moo-veh-seh (military chief) exclaims,—"Goat's blood is goat's blood." *

Ek-boh-sah.—"To interfere in a palaver is not right."

A general hubbub ensues, in which Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh tells Toh-kol-noo-veh-seh he might better have said nothing, and listened.

Ek-boh-sah continues.—"It is the king who makes war, not I. The king knows why we made so few prisoners in Attahpahm, and who are in fault. If the king becomes aware that any nations are favouring the Attahpahms he will at once destroy them. I did not come here to quarrel. Where the king sends me I will fight to my utmost. Is this a day on which to find fault? If I am not fit for my position drive me out. If my actions are not right, let my accusers look me in the face and make their

* Anglicè, in vulgar parlance, "trumps," meaning we all knew that before.

charges. I will not allow my name to be bandied because a portion of an army neglected their duty. Let my 'mother'* say what she thinks of this palaver."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh. — "I will explain myself and my reasons for wishing the king to make war on Bah."

At this she was interrupted by

Boh-noh-mar-seh (a military officer.) — "Where the 'king's sons' are (the male army), there the fighting will be. (Meaning that the amazons were only secondary.) What I speak in the debate I will enact in the field. There is a fish in the river called 'pah-tah-seh-heh.'" (This fish has a natural protection, and is able to defend itself.)

Loud cries of "You talk nonsense, you talk too much."

An Amazon questions his right to interrupt her general, and asks: "Does one do wrong who, in seeking a livelihood, gives a portion to the king?"

* By "mother," understand coadjutor in the harem; by "daughter," amazon; "father," the address to the king, or a slave to his master; "son," soldier, slave.

Mayo (talking at Boh-noh mar-seh).—"The king has said, let a man stuff himself at night, and he is heavy in the morning, that man's a fool."

King.—"If a man be too lazy to labour for himself, he is of no use to his king. If one partly destroys a country, he is not likely to return in open day, but will take advantage of the darkness of night." *

Hoo-mah-ee (king's drum-maker).—"If the amazons go to Abeahkeutah, the males must go also. Let the king decide, and my 'mother' and I will march together. Where war is, there the drum will be. The army was six days in Attahpahm without meeting any enemy; yet there is one that calls himself king of that country." (Sings, and all join chorus)—

* The literal meaning of this is, that Attahpahm is partly destroyed, or that the Dahomans — neither conquerors nor conquered — destroyed the city, but not the nation; that the king is not likely to let them know when he will make another attack on so formidable a nation, although he has not finished with them.

" So wae re jar
Jor gee
Ah jor gee sar."

The readiest means a sale to meet,
Is to cry your goods throughout the street.

(In allusion to the Attahpahms having invited the Dahomans to the war.)

Boh-koh-sah (one of the singers).—"When the king talks of Abeahkeutah, then I will speak. What serves all this dispute? We can go to war with our clothes on (without loss of time)." Amid loud cries and interruptions, he added: " Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, the chief of the amazons, has raised this palaver."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh.—"Let Boh-koh-sah say I am the cause of this palaver. I will speak my mind. Let the king decide for Attahpahm; we are strong enough for Abeahkeutah also." (Meaning, the males will take one, the amazons the other.)

Hoo-mah-ee. — "Where the amazons go, there the males must also go."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh.—"Who are you to speak thus confidently? Are you the agaou?" (Much excitement.)

A Drummer says—"Forty drums make an army, one army would be sufficient. In times of peace, the warrior's eye is in all directions; in war, concentrated on one focus (force should be concentrated). I wish to speak to the miegan and agaou. Both are absent. Why are they not here? It was not yesterday we returned from Attahpahm. Why bring that palaver in question now?"

An Amazon.—"If men give cause, do you think women can refrain from observing their faults, and commenting on them?"

Hoo-mah-ee.—"The Attahpahms must be destroyed; if they sent to treat, their feet would blister by the way. Let the king follow and exterminate them."

Another Drummer.—"The reason we ask for Abeahkeutah is, that the Abeahkeutans have insulted the king and killed Dahomans." (A general murmur.)

Too-noo-noo (the head eunuch.)—"Why is this man not heard?"

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, after a flattering

speech of some length to the king, adds—"We are the king's sandals."

The king made a speech in return, which was inaudible. All acknowledged it by holding aloft their muskets, and shouting. The subject was then changed by Ah-hoh-peh and Leh-peh-hoong, the king's eldest brothers, holding a spirited conversation on the agricultural condition of the kingdom. They agreed that the corn grounds were insufficient in extent to meet the demands, and remarked that the country which formerly supplied this necessary article of food was Ah-jar, and that now war was about to preclude the practicability of depending on that market. Their debate was joined in by Hung-bah-gee, a military chief, who added, that where goats were formerly plentiful in the market, they were now scarce, and that fowls and poultry were dear. They finished by agreeing that the roads were not kept in the order they might be.

In these public and open speeches alone is the king made aware of the state of the

interior; and according to their tenor and requisition he acts. Any one founding a complaint may do it, but he must be careful to prove it, or woe betide him.

The annual clothing to the soldiers under accusation was now brought in and placed before them, when an argument followed as to whether they were deserving of it or not. Their coadjutors in the amazon army said they deserved it, as their band, in a former war, killed the king of Lef-flee-foo.

Hung-bah-gee and Too-koo-noo-veh-seh (two chiefs) considered the goods forfeited, and each put in a claim of superior service.

An amazon officer questioned Hung-bah-gee's right, but conceded to Toh-koo-noo-veh-seh having a claim.

After much discussion, the king, in a speech too low to be heard, decided that Teh-peh-sah and his party (the accused) were to take their cloth; and thus ended the day's debate or wrangle. The band of singers were paid seven heads of cowries and a bottle of rum; and were followed by more bands, which each sang praises, received

a present, and retired. About forty of the blood royal assembled on the neutral ground (among them "Bah-dah-hoong," the king's eldest son and heir apparent) prostrated and kissed the dust, followed by the ministers and cabooceers. At three we left, as four more unhappy wretches were to be added to the thousands already murdered, to the memory of these benighted kings. God grant the nation a speedy deliverance from such barbarous pursuits! On this day his Majesty gave away about fifty heads of cowries.

PART VI.

THE AMAZON'S OATH OF FIDELITY.

June 12*th.*—This morning it appeared the debate of yesterday had not been without good results; the roads were in process of cleaning; each house has its portion, and all the lots were marked ready, so that there was no mistake.

The M'Carthys.

A liberated African woman (carrying a child on her back) came to our quarters this morning to beg our intercession on behalf of her husband, a liberated African from Sierra Leone, named Tom M'Carthy, who was a prisoner in the camboodee's house. A year since, having the hooping-cough, he had been directed to go into Attahpahm (from Whydah) to visit a famous native doctor who resided there; war had been made in the mean time, and he was now a prisoner. Desiring her not to men-

tion her case to any one, we promised our intercession, and sent her away.

The parade.

July 13*th.* — In our morning walk we were caught in a tornado, which, in a few moments, soaked us through. At noon we attended the parade of the amazon army — ostensibly the taking the oath of fidelity by these extraordinary troops, and a most novel and exciting scene it proved. Under a canopy of umbrellas on the south side of the Ah-jah-ee market-place, surrounded by ministers, cabooceers, dwarfs, hunchbacks, &c., all *en militaire*, on a skull-ornamented war-stool sat the king; in front sat the too-noo-noo, whilst on the right, under a similar canopy similarly attended, was a female court, in front of which was the mae-hae-pah.

In different parts of the field bivouacked the amazon regiments. As I arrived and took my seat on the king's right hand, one regiment was marching off, and a herald called —

"Ah Haussoo-lae-beh Haussoo!"
Oh king of kings!

A regiment of bushrangers now advanced. As a mark of distinction, each amazon had three stripes of whitewash round each leg. As soon as they arrived in front of the throne, they saluted the king, when one of the officers stepped forward and swore, in the name of the regiment, if they went to war, to conquer or die. "Have we not conquered," she exclaimed, "all the province of Mahee? So will we always conquer or die." Then a second officer stepped forward and said: "When the Attahpahms heard we were advancing, they ran away. If we go to war, and any return not conquerors, let them die. If I retreat, my life is at the king's mercy. Whatever the town to be attacked, we will conquer, or bury ourselves in its ruins." As soon as this officer had thus sworn, a third came from the ranks and said: "We are eighty, and of the right brigade, never yet known to turn our backs to the enemy. If any one can find fault with us, young or old, let us know it." A male officer standing near the king was about to address this

amazon, when he was told by a fetish man, "That woman is fetish, you are not; you must not interfere with her." All the amazons then joined in singing, —

"We march'd against Attahpahms as against men,
We came and found them women.
What we catch in the bush we never divide."

After they had again saluted the king, the regiment marched off.

Parts of two other regiments of bush-rangers then advanced; all regiments are named after their colonels, and these bore the appropriate titles of Ah-hoh-yoh, fire-horn, Ah-koong-ah-dah, turkey-buzzard.

Speeches of amazons.

After saluting the male and female courts, one of the amazons said: "I have no promises to make: as I have behaved and will behave, so I am ready to be judged: let my actions prove me!" Then another added: "By the king's offspring I swear never to retreat." Whilst a third continued: "War is our great friend; without it there is no cloth, no armlets; let us to war, and conquer or die." The

speaking was then taken up by a fourth, saying: "I am a wolf, the enemy of all I meet who are the king's enemies, and if I do not conquer, let me die." And a fifth, who added: "I am mother of Antonio (Da Souza); I long to kill an elephant for him to show my regard, but the Attahpahms must be exterminated first. One of the male soldiers sent us Guinea pepper, to excite us to war: such is an insult." A sixth amazon having first recited the names of all the countries and towns conquered by the Dahomans to Ee-ah-wae (the English mother, an amazon general); the latter repeated them to two female heralds, who proclaimed them aloud. When this recitation was concluded the amazon said to the king: "If we go to war, we cannot come back empty-handed; if we fail to catch elephants, let us be content with flies: the king only knows where the war shall be."

The two colonels now came forward, and, by the king's desire, their bush-knives were handed for my inspection,—large unwieldy

country-made articles. Though far from deserving it, yet I said they were well adapted for the service. Being passed to Cocoa Sautee, the Ashantee ambassador, he (a thorough courtier) looked at them with admiration, felt their edges and their balance, and, turning towards the king, exclaimed, "If the princes of Africa wish to behold the wonders of the earth, let them attend the customs of Dahomey."

When the inspection of the knives had been concluded, Ah-koh-yoh (colonel of amazons) began her address: "Clothes," she said, "are made by fingers: we are the king's fingers!" Whilst Ah-koong-ah-dah (colonel of amazons) added: "Carriages cannot be drawn without wheels: we are the wheels!" And then both together cried: "We have destroyed Attah-pahm, let us go to Abeahkeutah, where we will conquer or die." A dance of the whole regiment followed, and then, crawling on their hands and knees, suddenly with a yell, they rose and retired at a rapid pace.

Another regiment followed about 300 strong. Fetish women in advance carried the fetish images, which were placed on the ground between the two courts. All, kneeling, raised their muskets and saluted, after which they were joined by about 200, in the dress of amazons, retainers of the late cha-cha raised in 1848, who introduced themselves as young soldiers, anxious to witness the glory of the king of kings.

The colonel then advanced and said: "The Attahpahms wanted courage to fight against Dahomey. Give us Abeahkeutah, and if we do not conquer our heads are at your disposal. If the Abeahkeutans run into the water, we will follow them; if into fire or up trees, we will follow also."

Another amazon added: "As sure as Abeahkeutah now stands, we will destroy it." Whilst a third took up the theme: —

"Attahpahm is destroyed! Give us Abeahkeutah? That is a strong place. Amou entered a room in which lay a corpse: he lifted the sheet, and was asked why? Because (he answered) I am anxious

to go where that man has gone.* Let us go there, or conquer Abeahkeutah."

A fourth amazon concluded the addresses thus: "Talk of Attahpahm! It is gone, not worth speaking of: Abeahkeutah is worthy of my consideration: if ordered there, we will bring back a good report. As grass is cut down to clear the road, so will we cut off the Abeahkeutans." †

The amazon standard-bearers next came forward and said: "These standards are in our charge: we swear to protect them or die."

The fourth regiment.

All then saluted and marched off at the double quick step. Another regiment of 160 advanced, and, sitting down, saluted: their fetish gear being placed in front.

* The Dahomans believe in the transmigration of souls, and that all people who die pass into a happier state,—in a land of spirits, returning to earth at times to watch over the remaining members of their family. Thus it is that the rich take their favourite wives and a few slaves with them, some being voluntary sacrifices, and with wives often suicides.

† This is a pure Dahoman proverb: as their grass is annually cut down, and on the roads quarterly.

Some women belonging to the Souza family in military costume joined them.

An amazon of this regiment then commenced the usual addresses thus: "The king is like a hen, spreading out her wings to protect her young from the rain. We are under the king's protection: if we do not fight, let us die." (The king having drank health with me, handed a tumbler of liqueur to the possoo.) After which, another of the amazons continued the speaking in these words: "Possoo, if you head us in war, may we die! Send us to Abeahkeutah, and we will destroy it or die."

One of the male courtiers here said: "If you do not, you will lose your name." On which the amazon replied: "We are newly born by the king: we have and will uphold him." And another added with emphasis: "Where the king sends us, thence comes a good report. I am the king's 'daughter,' under his protection: he gave me to the late Da Souza: death seized him: I now belong to Antonio: my name is Ah-

gae-see; and all I want is to go to war upon Abeahkeutah."

The colonels now advanced, and said: "These soldiers have done nothing yet; send us against the strongest: war cannot suffice us. Where the regiment is sent I will head them. Although a snake casts away beads *, and sheds its skin, it cannot change its colour, nor can I my word. We have sworn never to touch our fetish until we go to war. Attahpahm is no more. Let the war be on Abeahkeutah." The usual salute and quick march concluded the ceremony of this regiment.

The fifth regiment.

Another regiment advanced, attended by the cha-cha's wife, ornamented with about 100 ounces of pure gold. After they had all saluted the king with the usual ceremonies and prostrations, they pointed to their accoutrements and sang —

"Wherever we wear them in war,
There we will conquer or die."

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* The legend of the Popoe bead.

The old too-noo-noo, in imitation of European dress, had from his short trowsers run a piece of tape under his feet, by way of straps. One of the courtiers, while the king was joking with them, ventured a witticism on the eunuch minister, who, turning round sharply, said: "There is the king in this court: any thing pointed at me is personal to the master." The too-noo-noo and his straps.

One of the amazons of the last regiment now advanced and said: "The horse has broken his halter and is loose *; the robber knows he is loose; if Abeahkeutah be opened to us, we will conquer or die. Should one only return, let her die." After which all the amazon regiments assembled together, and, grouped in front, saluted first the king, and then the female court; whilst one of the officers advancing said: "Beans, though dried in burning fire, can, by introducing the finger, be taken out and eaten." A singing chorus, in which all

* The Abeahkeutans destroyed an amazon regiment in 1848.

joined, immediately followed, the words of which were —

"When we went to Attahpahm
We found nobody:
All ran away.
If they reach the water (sea),
They will be turned to salt.
Give us Abeahkeutah, and let the left brigade lead: *
We will conquer or die."

One of those passing storms under the name of tornadoes, common to all Africa, proved that an African tent was capable of withstanding the effect of the most searching rain imaginable. Drawing close to the royal seat, a mat was held over us, and a column of courtiers stood on each side, at once supporting the roof and forming walls to our hastily-constructed defence: at the same time a flannel robe and a huge grass hat were thrown over the king. As the swearing and declaiming of the amazon army would have been lost on the ears of

* The right brigade led last war, and ran.

majesty, they amused themselves the while in dancing and singing. As soon, however, as the rain had passed, the swearing recommenced with the following speech by an amazon officer :

"Rain has fallen and washed the spittle into the ground. Rain cannot enter the king's house : it is a strong house. But give us permission, and we will cause the rain to fall on the roofless houses of Abeahkeutah." On this another amazon cried aloud: "My mouth can speak of nought but war. Give us Abeahkeutah." Whilst all joined in chorus of—

"We are soldiers and ready to die."

Another amazon then stepped forward, and asked: "What came we here for? Not to show ourselves, but to ask the king for war. Give us Abeahkeutah, and we will destroy it or die." Followed by another, who said: "Fetish * men never initiate the poor. Give us Abeahkeutah: there is

* Alluding, doubtless, to the want of spoil from last war.

plenty. Attahpahm is destroyed and unworthy of our future care." At this part Souza's women advanced and sang:

> "The amazons are ready to die in war:
> Now is the time to send them."

All the female court then left their stools, and, heading the amazons, advanced and saluted the king, and then, retiring, resumed their positions; whilst, from the midst of the amazon army, a little girl of six years of age advanced, and said, "The king spoke thrice when he spoke of war: let the king speak once now: let it be on Abeahkeutah."*

Again all the amazons advanced, and, shouting, called on Da Souza to emulate his father. "As the porcupine shoots a quill a new one grows in its place, so let matters be in the port of Whydah: let one ship replace another." All again prostrated themselves and threw dirt on their heads:

* Alluding to the custom of asking three times; and meaning, "We have already asked three times, you have only now to answer in the affirmative."

while two amazon heralds recited the names of the king, and added one from the Attahpahm war, the "glah-glah" or "chimpanzee." *

Again all rise; whilst an amazon chief makes the following speech. "As the blacksmith takes an iron bar and by fire changes its fashion, so have we changed our nature. We are no longer women, we are men. By fire we will change Abeahkeutah. The king gives us cloth, but without thread it cannot be fashioned: we are the thread. If corn is put in the sun to dry and not looked after, will not the goats eat it. If Abeahkeutah be left too long, some other nation will spoil it. A cask of rum cannot roll itself. A table in a house becomes useful when anything is placed thereon. The Dahoman army without the amazons are as both, unassisted. Spitting

The speech of the amazon chief.

* Chimpanzees, in hordes, drive the labourers in the bush from their temporary farms: hence the name, as at Attahpahm all the prisoners were from the farms.

makes the belly more comfortable, and the outstretched hand will be the receiving one: so we ask you for war, that our bellies may have their desire and our hands be filled."

At the conclusion of this harangue the female court again rose, and, heading the amazons, saluted the king, when, pointing to the heavens, all sang in chorus —

"Soh*-jae-mee!"

May thunder and lightning kill us if we break our oaths!

The king now left the tent, amid cries of kok-pah-sah-kree (a peculiarly fierce eagle); whilst all fell prostrate. The king received a handsome ebony club, and danced with it. Then the amazons rose, and the king thus addressed them: —

The king's speech.

"The hunter buys a dog, and, having

* During the customs, a party carrying the fetish gear is headed by a man in a huge coat of dry grass, wearing a large bullock's head mask. As he passes all the boys follow, crying "Soh Soh." This is the representative of the god of thunder and lightning.

trained him, he takes him out a-hunting, without telling him the game he expects to meet. When in the bush he sees a beast, and, by his teaching, the dog pursues it. If the dog returns without the game, the huntsman, in his anger, kills him, and leaves his carcass a prey to the wolves and vultures. If I order you to clear the bush, and you do not do it, will I not punish you? If I tell my people to put their hands in the fire, they must do it. When you go to war, if you are taken prisoners, you will be sacrificed, and your bodies become food for wolves and vultures."

Having concluded his oration, the king again danced and drank; then handed round rum in a large pewter basin to the amazon officers. On his return to his tent, all the amazons, in number about 2400, marched off, and thus ended the parade.

PART VII.

THE SHAM FIGHT.

The scene of action.

June 14*th*.—At nine we arrived on the parade ground, the ah-jah-ee market; but, by the over zeal of the mayo's people that we should be in time, were far too early. Still we were so far fortunate that we had time to inspect the ground. On the south side a stockade of palm branches was built in imitation of a town, having three large enclosures within. These were now filling with slaves, marched under guards from the palaces. The cabooceers, followed by the ministers, each attended by his whole array of soldiers, bands, and insignia, marched on to the ground in lengthened procession from the west. At the same time the king, carried in a hammock in the centre of his male host, arrived from the palace of Dan-

ge-lah-cordeh on the east side; while the amazons, who alone were to take part in the sham fight, assembled under their different regimental colours on the north.

The commencement of the day.

As usual a canopy of umbrellas was spread for the court, and on the right (as yesterday) a similar one for the female court; while in the rear were bivouacked the whole male army. The business of the day commenced by the cabooceers and ministers prostrating and kissing the dust. Next Seh-peh-hoong, the king's brother, laid several government agricultural implements at the foot of the throne, and complained that the proper officers had not caused them to be repaired.

The march of the amazons.

Too-noo-noo now sought his coadjutor, the mae-hae-pah, who summoned the amazon army to approach. First came an advanced guard in single file, reconnoitring and placing sentinels along the road: then came the main army in two battalions. As each passed, the sentries were relieved and sent on with the report of advance. All carried their muskets over their shoulders,

with the muzzles in front. Next came the Fetish gear, the war-stools, and equipage of the monarch, guarded by a reserve, and in the rear the commissariat (all females). A second time they marched past, in the same order; this time giving a silent salute, *en passant*, by dropping on one knee; their muskets over the shoulder, but reversed. A third time they marched past, but now in close column, and with constant attention and arms shouldered. This, we were told, represents a night march.

During this scene the heralds were continually crying, "Oh, king of kings! war is coming, let all come to see it."

The commencement of the fight.

After the third round, the army collected in the centre of the parade ground. Pioneers then advanced, and, settling down in front of the tent (attended by the amazon chiefs), held a council of war. After which scouts were sent out, and soon returned with a spy covered from head to heel, with a country cloth. He was placed in the centre of the council, and an examination took place; whilst aid-de-camps were con-

stantly running between the council and the army. Again scouts were sent out, and this time returned with six prisoners, who were examined before the council, and marched into the rear. Then a body of officers advanced, to report the state of the country and position of the enemy to the king, who told them that, as this was a mere skirmish, the young troops were to take the lead.

The king now left his stool and inspected the stockade; while we took up positions on the right. There was a method of keeping time which I failed in understanding: it was measured by paces, the measurer having a thread, which, at a slow pace, he passed round two sticks, at a certain distance apart. After the manœuvre these threads were measured.

The attack on the stockade.

At noon a musket was fired, and a portion of the army attacked the stockade, made an entrée, and speedily reappeared, some with prisoners, some with tufts of grass to imitate heads.

Several regiments now advanced, and

again made an entrée. The slaves this time broke out of their enclosure, and a slave-hunt followed with much spirit, until all were caught.

All the army now assembled in front, except a reserve which guarded the prisoners, and at a signal advanced at double-quick time, and, by force of weight, threw down the stockade. The slaves from the third enclosure escaping, a similar hunt ensued as in the case of the previous stockade.

The regiments now divided, and, as we were informed, surrounded the country. All the slaves were again let loose (about 2000), and again hunted until all were recaptured, tied, and dragged before the royal canopy, whither the king and ourselves had returned.

As a slight divertissement, one of the courtiers descried a large cobra in the tree under which the canopy was spread, and, receiving permission, fired. The multitude shouted, and down fell a snake that had been killed for the occasion.

The king, on taking leave, made us a present of war-food,—hard round cakes made of palm oil, peppers, corn, salt, and beans, very nutritious, but difficult to masticate.

These reviews were very interesting, and I regret to say this was the last. We had nothing now to witness but the see-que-ah-hee. Some of the disputes in them will, however, better serve to illustrate the manners and customs of this extraordinary people, than any laboured description of their daily life and most singular national manners.

PART VIII.

THE SEE-QUE-AH-HEE, OR WATERING OF THE GRAVES OF THEIR ANCESTORS.

June 15*th*. — THE position need not be described: suffice it to say that the mausoleums of Agah-jah-dooso, in the palace of Agrim-gomeh, were, in the Dahoman idea, equally honoured, or in other language, there was a similar disgusting exposure of human bones and skulls.* Court fools exercised their wit, and excited the risible faculties by appearing in different masks.

A band of singers fronted the throne,

* The watering the graves is supposed to be offering sacrifices, human and others, on the tombs. We are only told of human sacrifices twice; making all the human beings offered during the custom in number thirty-two; but I much doubt if every day, inside or outside, one or more victims were not offered. The meat of bullocks, goats, fowls, &c., was strewed about the neutral ground, and water sprinkled.

and, as we entered, sung in praise of trade, at which the mayo, ee-a-voo-gan, and all the traders from Whydah, had to prostrate and kiss the dust.

Having made our bow, the theme changed into one of praise to the king, "who sacrificed liberally to the memory of his ancestors," and requested him to come forth and dance. They next called Apah-doo-noo-meh, the amazon chief, and sang at length in praise of the glory of their arms.

A marriage in Dahomey

The courtiers, sycophants, and fools were now offered an ample opportunity of exercising their disgusting eulogiums on the munificence of their master, as the mae-hae-pah, with cunning mystery, led two coy maidens, each the bearer of a glass of rum, to the centre of the neutral ground, and called Hae-che-lee and Ak-koo-too, two caboceers, to the presence. Advancing with simple looks they prostrated themselves, and each received and drank a glass of rum, and thus performed the only marriage ceremony known in Dahomey. In this way the monarch honours his favourite

officers with ladies of the royal household to wife.

An incident.

The band of singers were about to receive a present of cowries, when a divertissement took place, strongly pointing the direction even of the playful thoughts of the Dahomans. Among the cabooceers who received the cowries, and afterwards presented them with a speech on their master's liberality, was discovered one of the king's nephews. On the presumption that he was there with bad intention, he was instantly seized; and, with loud cries for mercy to the king, was slowly, and with much difficulty, removed across the court, where the king's brother, Ah-hoh-peh, told him he was to be beheaded.

Poh-veh-soo, the headsman, was exercising one of his offices as court fool in an opposite part of the court-yard, when the yells and cries of the victim (happy sounds to him) caught his ear. Divesting himself of his mask, with eyes dilated and sword in hand, he rushed to claim the prerogative of another of his offices. Arriving just as

the king had declared his willingness to try the culprit first, Ah-hoh-peh and Poh-veh-soo struggled hard for possession of the prisoner, and in this way approached the royal presence. One of the guards seized on Poh-veh-soo, and would have thrown him in the struggle, had it not been for the intervention of the late prisoner, who, to the amusement of the assemblage, took part with the headsman.

The remainder of the day was passed by bands of singers, alternately singing praises, either of the monarch, his ancestors, or his army. Taking leave, on arriving at our quarters we found a number of the "Spectator," landed by H. M. S. Lily, which brought back the memory to distant and happy England.

The second day and its debates.

June 16*th*. — Again the watering the graves of Agah-jah-dooso, in the same courtyard, and with the same positions as yesterday.

This day the singers confined themselves to an exposure of public nuisances, or stric-

tures on the conduct of the ministers and others. It would appear that, through some neglect, the tribute rum had been sent from Whydah (too evidently) under proof, from a strong admixture of salt-water. The mayo and ee-a-voo-gan were called upon to be more careful in future, and had to prostrate and kiss the dust.

Next the state of the palace walls was commented on. In these charges, Hung-bah-jee, a captain of the king's host, expressed himself as follows: "The miegan and the agaou are strangely absent from their customs: men say they are sick, yet why is not the state of their health daily reported at the palace-gate? If a house catches fire the inmates do not desert it, but rethatch it, lest the rain come and destroy the walls."

Too-noo-noo answered that "the king was aware of the state of the walls of his palace, and that the mayo had received directions concerning them."

Leh-peh-hoong.—"I have desired the saugan to give his help towards their repair.

At present his people are employed. When the work in hand is finished the walls will be repaired."

Ah-loh-loh po-noh-gan. — "I can speak for the mayo, all of whose people are, at the king's command, ready to repair the walls."

At this point a squabble arose between the mayo and Hung-bah-gee, on the latter declaring he would repair them himself.

The singers however changed the subject of their lay, and sang of the Attahpahm war, and in praise of the amazon army, which was answered by one of its colonels. All the successful amazons in the late war then passed the throne; and one of their generals, assisted by two other officers, proclaimed the name of each amazon and of her prisoner. Four hundred and twenty-five are said to have brought prisoners, and thirty-two the heads of enemies. Several that had been wounded were introduced to us by name: the portrait of one, called Seh-dong-hong-beh (God speaks true), will be found in the former volume.

The singers again sang the praises and gains of war. The king came out and danced, then passed to our position, and drank with us, after which some heads of cowries were distributed to a number of bands of singers and musicians, each of which performed for a short time. One of the number, dressed in pure white, is called Hausoo Hwae (the royal bird).

As it was getting late, and the time approaching for the sacrifice of four unhappy prisoners of war, we took leave.

On this day two of the ministers, the mayo and the ee-a-voo-gan, have each to decapitate a victim with a short crooked sword. As a fee of office, each receives for performing the bloody deed one head of cowries, and a bottle of rum. The mayo, an old man of seventy-five years of age, performed his portion: not so the ee-a-voo-gan, a stout good-natured-looking black, to whom his task seemed repugnant, perhaps from association with Europeans as viceroy of Whydah, although I cannot think the morality of a Dahoman even

could be benefited by such an intercourse. Be it as it may, whether from innate humanity, or from some less worthy motive, the burly minister showed disgust at the office, and paid "the public executioner, whose heart the accustomed sight of death makes hard," one shilling, or 500 cowries, to do the deed. As a proof that my strictures above are not sufficiently strong for some of the foreign society of Whydah, two of them, slave-merchants, remained to gloat on these infamous barbarous murders, rendered legal in the minds of barbarians by the countenance of the whites. Who in this case are the murderers ?

The third day. Watering the grave of the mother of Agah-jah-dooso.

June 17*th*. — To water the graves of Ah-doh-noh, the mother of Agah-jah-dooso, and her relations. Ah-doh-noh is one of the titles of royalty held by the amazons. The positions were the same as before, except that the king sat on a chair of state, and was guarded by a regular guard of amazons under arms in the rear of the royal seat. On the neutral ground were

piled 400 heads of cowries, besides several other smaller piles, and much rum.

Soon after our arrival, the business of the day opened with a distribution of cowries to all the ministers, head officers, and traders, in presents varying from ten heads to a head of cowries. The plan of distribution was different from that pursued on the previous days; the miegan being sick, the mayo, on being called, danced before the king to the notes of a discordant band; then knelt, and received ten heads of cowries in a basket on his head. Passing that to a servant, he received a three-gallon pottle of rum, which he carried away on his head. Each recipient had to imitate the mayo. The reader may remember, that when the chief of the amazons accused the males with running away in the Attah-pahm war, the king exclaimed that their chief knew more of counting cowries than the art of war.

The 400 heads before mentioned are presents to people not attending the customs; and their distribution is a hereditary

right belonging to Ah-loh-peh*, the captain of the band that gave way and caused the confusion of the male army. The singers now alluded to the charge, and the general opinion of the males was, that Ah-loh-peh, for his cowardice, had forfeited his ancestral right. While the dispute was yet a mere bantering of words, silence was proclaimed, and two bushmen, advancing to the centre of the neutral ground, knelt, and having each produced from a bag a recently boiled black human head, thus addressed the king: —

The speeches of the bushmen.

"The skulls were those of two Abeah-keutan soldiers, who were of a party that had attacked and taken a town in Anagoo (tributary to Dahomey): they then retired to a country called Tossoo, to forage, being horsemen. These two stragglers were shot."

After receiving a present in value about eight dollars, the mayo directed them to go to his house and receive some powder, then hasten and tell their chief, that, inasmuch

* It may be necessary to caution the reader that Ah-hoh-peh is the king's brother, and Ah-loh-peh the officer charged.

as he had killed those two men, Gezo would exterminate the Abeahkeutans.

I am strongly of opinion that this was mere acting, to impress us that the Dahomans were not the aggressors.

The trial of Ah-loh-peh.

After a procession of some public women, a form of trial ensued, if it deserve the name, of Ah-loh-peh, and five others, which lasted two days, and the particulars of which, as they are of a novel form of judge and jury, may be interesting. All addresses must be supposed to be made direct to the king as judge.

Ah-koo-too (a military chief).—"Inasmuch as Ah-loh-peh has proved himself a coward, he has forfeited his right to the distribution of this money: it must go to some one else."

Mayo.—"As head of the left, to which side Ah-loh-peh belongs, I claim the distribution."

A military Chief.—"If Ah-loh-peh has forfeited his hereditary right, it descends to Tingalee, who is a fit soldier."

Too-noo-noo.—"Tingalee has no claim:

the mayo, as head of all the 'left' army, to which Ah-loh-peh and Tingalee belong, alone has the right."

Boh-koh-mae-oo-noo (military chief). — "Tingalee is an officer to the mayo; is it right that the servant or the master should have this privilege?"

Hwae-mah-zae (amazon chief). — "By ancient custom the right is Ah-loh-peh's. Why change that custom now?"

Ah-loh-peh. — "Having listened to the argument, I cannot give up my birthright. If I was guilty of cowardice last war, why was I not accused at the time; I and all my people? It was not yesterday we returned from war; nor is this the time (to serve other purposes) to charge me with actions in times gone by. I will not quietly yield up my prerogative to the mayo."

The mayo, whom I have before described as a little man, rushed at Ah-loh-peh, a large powerful well-built black, who was addressing the king on his knees, and dealt him several blows; then, turning to his retainers, he caused him to be arrested and

forcibly removed. In a moment the whole yard was in uproar; and the neutral ground filled with amazons, shouting at the top of their voices. All clamoured, yelled, and shouted. When, with much difficulty, silence was proclaimed, the king, without altering his tone or position, and yet with some sternness, ordered Ah-loh-peh to be brought back.

Mayo (on the return of Ah-loh-peh). — "I impeach Ah-loh-peh as a coward; through his want of courage the Attah-pahm's nearly conquered; his head, by all our laws, is forfeited."

King. — "That does not excuse your assault."

Mayo. — "The man's presumption and impudence irritated me."

King. — "If you had reason to find fault with him for cowardice in the late war, you should have done so before, not now."

Ah-loh-peh. — "In what the mayo terms presumption and impudence, I am only protecting my hereditary rights; and, if not mine, let it not be the mayo's."

The mayo here replied in a passionate speech, rendered utterly inaudible through the shouting and hooting of the multitude.

Ah-loh-peh. — "As I behaved in the war, so did my people; when I go to war, I do not go alone."

King (addressing the whole). — "You must come to some definite agreement, and be less personal."

Several amazons then declared that Ah-loh-peh should retain his right.

King (to Ah-loh-peh). — "Settle how it shall be."

Ah-loh-peh. — "The people call me coward, and hinder me fair speech; if I am unworthy of the charge, let it be taken to Boh-gah-sah's."

Boh-koh-mae-oo-noo. — "Boh-gah-sah is as much to blame as Ah-loh-peh. That cannot be: Tingalee is the fit person."

After much more discussion, the king said that, as they could not agree unanimously, he would decide.

King. — "Let them be taken to Kar-mah-

dig-bee's house, and there be distributed. The mayo committed himself when he struck Ah-loh-peh. Let any one interfere now, and I know how to punish him."

Ah-loh-loh-poh-no-gan (to the king).—"May the mayo speak?"

King (answering in the negative) adds:—"If any act cowardly in war, let the report be made at the time, and not be brought afterwards to serve other purposes."

Leh-peh-hoong (king's brother) then addressed the king, and begged to be allowed to intercede for Ah-loh-peh.

King.—"Intercession is of no use now, Ah-loh-peh must reflect on his past conduct, and endeavour to do better in future."

The mayo, addressing Ah-loh-peh, then bade him beware for the future. But the king interrupted him, and added: "Enough has been said of the Attahpahm war; that is finished, the country destroyed, and the king killed."

During the debate, the name of a chief called Ah-ee-oh-soo-ee had been coupled

with Ah-loh-peh's; the king now declared the charge false, and described the state of the case.

King. — "Ah-loh-peh is a captain of eighty muskets: Ah-ee-oh-soo-ee also of eighty. In the Attahpahm war these bands were associated. Ah-loh-peh's band did not take part in the action; thus, unassisted, Ah-ee-oh-soo-ee could not act so well. Ah-loh-peh declares his men went foraging, and he could not collect them together again; that is the charge to be investigated."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, chief of the left amazon army, then charged the amazon miegan with cowardice. "She and her party ran," said the chief, and did not halt until they gained the king's position, a day's march from the war, and were immediately sent back with threats: in the meantime the amazon mayo was killed."

"Well I know it," rejoined the king; and then called up three amazons. "These," he added, "merely as carriers, without arms, took prisoners; and thus I will reward

them. He then gave them ten heads of cowries.

The munificence of the king was dilated on at great length, and appeared to have created general good-humour, when Koh-koh-ah-gee, a military captain, blowing his own trumpet, made a speech, in which he placed his father's son as the bravest of the Dahoman army. Hung-bah-gee, one of the captains of the king's troops, challenged him to single combat on the spot.

Koh-koh-ah-gee. — "No, I will take my musket to Abeahkeutah, and take more slaves than you, and so decide which is the greatest warrior."

King. — "Koh-koh-ah gee's is the right way to decide a personal quarrel between two officers: Hung-bah-gee was presumptuous."

Several amazons asked Hung-bah-gee, if he had any fault to find with Koh-koh-ah-gee.

Ah-hoh-peh (king's brother). — "This is an old jar: they hate each other."

An old Anagoo. — "I recommend the council not to quarrel among themselves; as, if they go to war against Abeahkeutah, they go against a strong people."

This very sensible speech, being distasteful, was of course cried down with much noise, during which all joined in singing,

> "When the wolf goes abroad
> The sheep must fly."

Koh-koh-ah-gee. — "We are the king's slaves, but he cannot sell us; should I be at Agrimeh and there do wrong, the king can send the knife (executioner) to decapitate me. Where we are sent we must conquer or die."

A general exchange of compliments and praises was, after much length, interrupted thus by the king: —

King. — "Reserve your strength for action: do not exhaust it in palaver and quarrel. (To the amazons): Keep your secrets of one another, and in war let each emulate the other: if Koh-koh-ah-gee or

any other distinguish himself, shall not I hear of it; and who knows better how to reward? But if, on the contrary any one behaves ill, think not that I will not punish."

Amidst general compliments, and a distribution of food and rum, we took leave.

The fourth day of the See-que-ah-hee.

June 18*th.*—Again the See-que-ah-hee, in the palace of Dahomey, to the memory of Ah-loh-wah-gae-lee, a hereditary title in the harem. Positions were the same as on the three former days. The trial of Ah-loh-peh and five other military officers, for cowardice in the late war, was still in progress; and the mayo had probably had a lesson from the king, for he hung his head dejectedly during the whole day.

Too-koo-noo-veh-seh opened the proceedings by kneeling on the neutral ground at our entrance, and saying: "The agaou is sick, but I will explain to him all that takes place."

Toh-poh-vee.—"I am also to report proceedings to the agaou, and to state that last war the troops were badly generaled:

they must be better led in the next campaign."

Ah-hoh-peh (king's brother). — "Ah-ee-oh-soo-hee was not to blame: therefore there is no need to try him."

Hae-tung (the amazon agaou). — "What the king said yesterday about our retreat was true; but we were overloaded: we had more than our share of the war."

Ah-ee-sah-tung (military chief). — "If a division of an army do not do their utmost, the whole blame cannot come on one, the agaou."

Sau-gan-sah (military chief). — "If I behaved like a coward, I must die: I could not ask for mercy. Ah-loh-peh would have been beheaded, had not the king interceded and saved him. Although Ah-loh-peh was not arrested yesterday, the affair is not settled: it is our duty to find out if he is in the right or wrong. I call upon Ah-loh-peh and the others to appear and answer for their conduct."

At the close of this speech all came for-

ward, prostrated and kissed the dust; whilst a stormy discussion ensued, far too quickly spoken to be understood by me, much less translated. After the discussion had lulled,

Sau-gan-sah said: — "They are guilty, and deserve to be disgraced. Let the king condemn them to be headsmen, and, reserving two for himself, give two to each, the miegan and the mayo."

Another soldier was now brought forward, and stripped of his accoutrements, whilst his arms were tied; and then again arose a stormy discussion, in which Saugan-sah told the king that if he bought slaves and made soldiers of them, he must expect bad as well as good.

The sentence on Ah-loh-peh and his fellows.

King. — "Ah-loh-peh, although guilty, was not so much responsible as represented." After a eulogium of the gallantry of Ah-pah-doo-noo-mee and her amazon regiment, he added: "Let Ah-loh-peh and the others be disgraced to headsmen forthwith." Then, turning to the last prisoner, he addressed his accusers

thus: "This man was second of eighty, the first was killed, and this man was separated from his party: when the party fell back, this man was fighting on the field. I have already given judgment in this case on the field, and I cannot alter it now. Let his arms be returned, and his liberty restored."

Ah-loh-peh and the five accused with him now returned with their heads shaved, each carrying a club, and all prostrated themselves and kissed the dust. Then Ah-loh-peh received the name of Gar-jah-doh, or fallen house.

Ah-hoh-peh (king's brother). — "No sooner is one fallen than another takes his place."

Ah-loh-loh-poh-noh-gan, the chief captain of the mayo's levies, then came forward, bowed, and kissed the dust.

King (after a lengthened speech, hardly audible). — "Should twenty fall in your ranks, let twenty take their place; should 100 fall, another 100 must be ready to replace them. Many were lost in the late

war; for the future matters must be better managed, or punishment must follow."

This speech opened a direct path to chanting their own praises, in which they far exceed the Briton's belief that he is equal to two Frenchmen, or an indefinite number of Portuguese. So happy were they after their bragging speeches, that they shook hands with each other, and, becoming much excited, compared forty of the Dahomans as equal to any thousand Africans. Then they joined in singing,

> "We'll rush on war and die
> Rather than return vanquished."

King.—"When you go to war, don't fire at a rustling of leaves. Observe your man well; assist one another, lest perchance the enemy be strongest, and so turn the tables."

One of the soldiers, holding up a small club, exclaimed. "With this, at Attah-pahm, I killed two of the enemy."

"Show it, that all may see it," rejoined the king; and then once more they shouted in full chorus,

"Let us rush on war, and die sooner than return
vanquished.
War is the pastime of the Dahoman;
If we don't conquer, let us die!"

The day's fête was then concluded by a quantity of food and rum being passed round to all.

PART IX.

WATERING THE GRAVES OF THE KING'S GREAT-GRAND-MOTHER, GRAND-MOTHER, AND MOTHER.

The fifth day. The grave of the king's great grand-mother.

June 19*th*.—To-day the grave of Iah-ee, the king's great-grandmother, was watered. The scene was a yard in the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh, and the positions much the same as on the former days. The Iah-ee (which is a royal title) was dressed out in silks and satins, and occupied a high seat. The ground, as usual, was strewn with cooked meat; and I much fear that sacrifices of female prisoners took place in the evenings, although our interpreter assured us that the present monarch had discontinued them. Immediately facing the entrance gate, which was ornamented with fourteen skulls, was an oven of clay, in which was a live duck and two boiled (human) heads, covered with palm oil.

A message was sent from the agaou, stating that he fully approved of the disgracing of Ah-loh-peh and his confederates, and that, as soon as he was well, he would attend the customs. Next followed a great deal of bragging and self-praise, succeeded by the general chorus : —

"Let the king grant war speedily!
Do not let our energies be damped.
Fire cannot pass through water.
The king feeds us
When we go to war.
Remember this!"

A military officer then sang at great length, the burthen of his song being, that, at whatever distance, if any king speaks lightly of Dahomey or the Dahomans, the agaou will head the army and revenge such an insult speedily.

King. — "All witnessed the judgment yesterday; take warning by the fate of those; if I give you a country to destroy, and you do not destroy it, you know what

you deserve." Then he explained to them that every inducement was given them to do their duty, and pointed out that cunning and stratagem should also be added to their bravery. This was acknowledged by all, as they sang,—

> "We are clothed and fed by Gezo;
> In consequence, our hearts are glad."

A Soldier. — "Abeahkeutah is mere child's play to destroy; I will command the army there. The agaou and passoo will not be required."

A soldier questioned the actions of those who were made officers; when the king told him he could promote whom he pleased.

An Amazon. — "This knife (holding one up) was given me by the king, it has not been used: let us go to war. Originally the amazons were not relied upon: now they are the most useful of troops."

Another (holding up a piece of paper).— "This book was given me by Bah-dah-hoong (the heir apparent) to give to my 'Father'

(the king), to keep the records of the country on."*

King.—"Can Bah-dah-hoong write, that he keeps a book?"

Much more flattery and mutual praise continued till about 3 P. M., when food was distributed, and a number of goats and fowls presented by the chiefs to the king. His majesty then presented eight boys to the Iah-ee to keep her house clean, and thus ended the proceedings.

June 20th.—Mr. Hutton's black servant had an interview with the king on matters of Brihiny: rather contrary to regulations when her Majesty's consul was present.

The cha-cha received his present or pass: after which a visitor is at liberty to withdraw. The captain of his band is from Jena, a countryman of one of our interpreters. He called to-day, and, in conversa-

* I cannot help thinking that this must have been a hit at our mission, as the Dahomans use the word "Book" for paper of any kind written on. "Saree," book, means, in the idiom or Lingua Franca of the traders, a great rascal.

tion, told him to explain to us that we had better warn the missionaries in Abeahkeutah to withdraw, as the king of Dahomey was going to make war there. I asked him if he felt confident of conquest. To which he answered: "The king will make a fetish *,

* In reference to this fetish or Brihiny, and probable division of the chiefs of Abeahkeutah, I quote extracts from the Rev. Henry Townsend's (of the Church Mission Society) evidence before Mr. Hutt's committee.

7719. I first went to Abeahkeutah in the latter part of 1842. . . I was there sent on a mission to inquire into the state of the country, to see if there was any possibility of our forming an establishment there.

7720. I left Abeahkeutah in March of the present year, and I arrived in England, June 26. 1848.

7721. . . . . The Church Missionary Society subsequently sent myself, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, and Mr. Gollmar to occupy the station at Abeahkeutah.

7723. It is about sixty miles from the coast.

7700. I estimate the population of Abeahkeutah at 50,000.

7732. The government itself is rather difficult to define (inasmuch as the people are not now under a settled government). Formerly it was a monarchical government: now, in consequence of the slave trade, the people who formerly lived in large towns,

to divide the Abeahkeutans, and then they cannot stand against his army. Remember

covering a large extent of country, are concentrated in one town.

7734. (Thus they became concentrated in the towns.) A quarrel arose among the people, and some fighting took place : ultimately one of the towns was destroyed, and the people sold into slavery. Those that escaped joined those that besieged, and made an attack upon others . . . until the whole country was in a state of disorder. Some of the people finding this spot (Abeahkeutah) likely to prove a safe place, resorted to it ; and then the people scattered abroad in the country took refuge in it, until now the town has become extremely large.

7734. (Thus the natives state the cause of the war.) The people of two or three different towns assembled together at one town to trade, . . . and some quarrel took place for the sake of one cowrie's-worth of pepper (30th part of a penny). . . . (Truly African.)

7739. (This part is extremely corroborative.) At the present time the country is very much disorganised. The most sensible among the chiefs are desirous of peace ; but they cannot always command the people. And there are a number of people in Abeahkeutah thirsting for war, on account of the slave trade. . . . (Here is the fetish to be stirred up.)

Okeadon. I was there, and not a man was killed."

How a Brazilian (for such the cha-cha calls himself) can justify his lending 140 men to the king, to assist him in his murderous slave hunts, I cannot understand. A little of Gallinas discipline would soon bring these devastating merchants to their senses; and God grant they may soon be taught the errors of their ways! And now, that Quittah belongs to the British government, nothing can be easier than to land a force there, and, descending by canoes, destroy all the haunts in the bight. What are the ob-

7744. The name of the province is Egba; the name of the kingdom Youribah. The Egba country used to have a king, who was tributary to the Youribah kingdom. Abeahkeutah is the capital of Egbah (*Mahee Anagoo*). Almost all large African states are formed of several provinces.

7746. Abeahkeutah means "under the stone": a large natural cave, in which the market is held, and might form a retreat for the besieged. Besides this protection, it is situated on the banks of a river, and a likely place for trade. Thirty years ago there was not an inhabitant.

stacles? One French house at Whydah, and, if report speaks true, very little less a slave house than Da Souza's. In such a question I count the British as nought. Mark the saving of expense. I lay the raising of forts at 20,000*l.* (double the sum given for the Danish forts); and, putting the other expenses (in landing and various operations, prize money, &c.) at 30,000*l.*, 50,000*l.* would perfectly stop in three months what is an impossibility in the present state of operations. Land a force of black troops at Quittah, let them march to Badagry, whilst small steamers ascending the Benin can pass into Lagos, and the whole expedition might commemorate the annihilation of the slave trade in the bights in one year after its commencement. In the north slavery is stopped; stop it in the bights, and two thirds of this vast continent no longer require to be blockaded. Money expended simply on marine coercion acts merely in preventing increase, as I defy any one to say that decrease is consequent. Three cotemporaneous courses are requisite

to destroy the slave trade. These are:— stringent treaties of amity with European and Christian powers;— stringent treaties, *nolens volens*, with the monsters who, for the sake of paltry gain, which they make an evil use of, sell their countrymen to enrich the stranger land;—and the destruction of slaving for ever, by erecting British forts on the commanding positions. When such operations are in force, there will be some reason to suppose the slave trade to be tottering. The present unassisted operations of the squadron keep up necessarily the numbers of slave vessels; while, wherever danger exists, or a denial is put to an article of commerce, it is hopeless to believe that all the exertions of force alone can prevent its introduction. Still these operations by land and sea will certainly render the traffic precarious, expensive to the trader, and I may say generally ruinous.

These are the principal to deal with. The cha-cha, for all I know, may be a brave man in the common acceptation of the term; but I question the bravery of a man

who sits down in luxury and lends hundreds to war (by surprise) on his neighbours, in order, only, that he may reap the benefit, knowing, as every one conversant with Dahoman affairs must, that for each slave two have been murdered,—one on the field, and one in the hall.

The watering the grave of Seh-noo-meh.

June 21*st.*—This morning the See-que-ah-hee was performed over the grave of the king's grandmother, Seh-noo-meh. The Seh-noo-meh was present in brilliant costume, attended by the lady holding the title of royal mother. The positions differed but little from those previously described.

On the neutral ground knelt all the amazon officers, and a band of music played, whilst they sang at great length in praise of the royal liberality, enumerating many such acts, and among them the gifts of eight boys to the "Iah-ee."

At the conclusion of the songs a dialogue immediately commenced, inciting the amazons to renew their songs.

Too-noo-noo.—"The songs you sing in his Majesty's praise are sweet to hear. Sing more."

Amazon Miegan.—"Sing again and lend all your powers to the song, for your lives are at the king's mercy."

Mayo.—"Oh sing again, with the same pathos!"

Too-noo-noo.—"Oh, how wise is the king! Hence the general diffusion of wisdom: all his people are wise."

Herald.—"The king is wise. Knowledge is generally diffused."

Leh-peh-hoong.—"Too-noo-noo spoke the truth when he said the king was wise: wisdom emanates from him, and spreadeth itself among the people."

Thus encouraged, the amazon officers then recommenced their songs, when a dispute arose about the incorrectness of the music. They sang a lengthened theme on the antiquity of the customs, and called on Seh-noo-meh to dance. With her train borne by a maiden, she came forth and danced, attended by four of the king's fetish

women. Then, addressing the king, she said: "If the king enters the house and does not speak, who can know he is there? To-morrow let him go to the house of her that gave him milk to nourish him."

Too-noo-noo. — "Any song in derision of the people beyond the Agonee river (Abeahkeutah) may be sung. To-morrow you will have to sing in praise, and of the memory, of her that gave birth to Gezo."

Food was now generally distributed, and numbers of the soldiers, in songs of self-praise, swore to conquer or to die. Then said the mayo: "Ponder your words over well before you give utterance: consider them ere you swear before the king."

King.—"Remember, after you have sworn, if you do wrong, when you are accused, I can tell you of your oaths."

Mayo. — "Go to war and act bravely, or return and be decapitated."

Thus encouraged and warned, the amazons renewed their song, uniting in singing—

"Gezo is king of kings!
While Gezo lives we have nothing to fear.
Under him we are lions, not men.
Power emanates from the king."

To this chorus succeeded a short dialogue of boasting and recrimination between two chiefs.

Koh-koh-ah-gee. — "My hands are well armed, they will fight well in war. What power I have is generously bestowed by Gezo."

Hung-bah-gee. — "You may, because of the number of your people: beware, lest some day you stumble."

Koh-koh-ah-gee. — "It is of little use to talk of taking a town, until the king has decided: wherever the war shall be, there will I lead my men."

Toh-koh-noo-veh-seh. — "In talking you are all brave: prove yourselves so in war."

The king here interfered with a speech entirely inaudible, but which seemed to give satisfaction, as Koh-koh-ah-gee concluded the discussion, by saying, "Now that you have taught us, we cannot err."

The saugan then performed the Dahoman marriage ceremony, receiving "a glass of rum" from his bride elect; while the mae-hae-pah bade him drain the glass with jealous zeal, nor give one drop to any cabooceer. Some fifty heads of cowries were then divided among the bands, and a present made to the Seh-noo-meh. The king drank a glass of spirits to the Seh-noo meh, with the usual accompaniment of guns, drums, and shouting, while a herald proclaimed, "Gezo, king of kings, that could take all other kings, and sell them for rum." After this "poetic" eulogium, the band of singers occupying the neutral ground called for Ah-loh-peh and the other chiefs who were disgraced at the previous feast. Dahoman marriage.

Prostrated on the ground, the chief was asked his new name by the band, who, receiving it as "Gar-jah-doh," or "fallen house," sang,—

"Oh, Fallen House!
That was once considered worthy of carrying arms;
Be thou now disgraced to bear a club."

With this curious ceremony the day's labours and amusements came to an end.

The watering the grave of the king's mother.

June 22*nd*.—The Ah-con-tih-meh, or lady holding the title of royal mother, presided at the watering the graves of Gezo's mother and her relations. The positions were the same as before. First, several female bands of music passed, and received each a present of cowries. Then the amazon officers lauded the king to the very skies, in verse, thus:—

"Let all eyes behold the king!
There are not two, but one—
One only, Gezo!
All nations have their customs,
But none so brilliant or enlightened
As of Dahomey.
People from far countries are here:
Behold! all nations, white and black,
Send their ambassadors."

Every body in the yard, except the whites, and those privileged as ee-a-boos (whites), then prostrated and kissed the dust, whilst the female officers sang—

"Yoribah lied
When Yoribah said she could conquer Dahomey:
When we meet we'll change their night into day

Let the rain fall:
The season past, the river dries.*
Yoribah and Dahomey!
Can two rams drink from one calabash?
The Yoribahs must have been drunk to say
Dahomey feared them:
They could conquer Dahomey.

An Amazon. — "In the days of our ancestors, the white trader brought good articles. A musket then lasted twenty years, now three."†

Too-noo-noo. — "Your songs are sweet to hear: sing more."

Amazon officers then sang —

"There's a difference between Gezo and a poor man,
There's a difference between Gezo and a rich man:
If a rich man owned all,
Gezo would still be king.

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* Between Abeahkeutah and Abomey is the river Agonee.

† I doubt much if this was not a double entendre, meaning that formerly a musket would be of little use in Dahomey, but now its use is universal. All these sayings, as will be seen, are in abstruse parables.

All guns are not alike;
Some are long, some short, some thick, some thin.
The Yoribahs must be a drunken nation,
And thus we will dance before them."

Of their dance they then gave a rehearsal, whilst the heralds recited the king's names, and added: "There is a leaf called 'ee-a-boo' (probably poison): let the king make a fetish with it, and Abeahkeutah must fall. Every thing Gezo does is well done. His power is supreme over the male and female of all kinds."

The amazon officers once more sang in chorus —

"With these guns in our hands
And powder in our cartouch-boxes,
What has the king to fear?
When we go to war, let the king dance,
While we bring him prisoners and heads."

An amazon here summoned the king's sons, who, advancing, kissed the dust and prostrated themselves before the throne. She then exhorted them to make a good fetish for their father, "that his days may

be long in the land." She added: "The king prays to the fetish for you. Let all the royal family pray to their ancestors for long life to Gezo. If the leopard kills her prey, does she not feed her young? If the deer brings forth young, does she not nibble grass for it?"

Bah-doo-hong (heir apparent). — "So long as I live, I shall call upon the fetish to cause my father's life to be happy and continued." (A general salute followed.)

Toh-dah-sah (a female cousin of the king) to the amazons. — "If you would procure the honey, you must do it carefully, or you will be stung."

The Ah-con-tih-meh and her attendants here commenced a dance before the king, each carrying a human skull, whilst the amazon officers continued chanting —

"The king's heart and hands are full."

The Seh-noo-meh then received a present, and, attended by her skull ornaments and followers, marched off. Food was now generally distributed, and rum and other liqueurs

handed round in cruet stands and other equally curious decanters.

Leh-peh-hoong received a small liqueur case full of bottles, filled (as the mae-hae-pah explained to him) with a sample of every liqueur his Majesty had drank during the customs.

A general assemblage now took place of all the bands of singers, musicians, and others, who had taken part in these customs; and the yard became crowded to excess. All received food and rum. The king presented cowries to the traders, ministers, cabooceers, and principal officers, and to the cha-cha's brothers. During the time that Ignatio and Antonio da Souza were receiving ten heads of cowries each, the singers chorused —

> "Oh! wonderful king, to receive
> These cowries from the white man
> And give them back again!"

One hundred and sixty heads of cowries were given to the ministers to make the fetish custom.

Much self-praise and laudation of his Majesty ensued. After the repast Koh-koh-ah-gee and Hung-bah-gee became so personal, in their boasting and recrimination, that the king cautioned each not to promise more than he could perform.

The amazons joined in the praises of those on whom royalty smiled, and attacked those who, on the contrary, fell under the royal (and consequently popular) displeasure in a despotic court. The day had all the features of the former, with one brightening lustre, "more valuable than the glitter of the diamond to the miner," it was the last of the "See-que-ah-hee." The "watering of the graves" was over; and may the Dahomans be confounded and put to shame, before another "Hwae-mae-noo" (occurrence of every year) disgraces the first year of the second half of the nineteenth century!

The decapitations of which we were aware amounted to thirty-two; but I have no doubt many more victims were sacrificed. I leave the reader to make his own com-

ment on what I have attempted to describe, asking him if it be not too true, that "truth is far more strange than fiction."

Before closing my account of the customs, I may add a few more facts. Every night heralds paraded the town, crying "Haussoo lae-beh Haussoo!" (oh, king of kings! &c.), and enumerating the king's names and the names of his conquests. Before going, I was under the supposition that the very streets would run with rum, and that there would be danger from the bewildered state of barbarous minds consequent on the vice of drunkenness. There was none, and rum, although served in large quantities, was so distributed, that no one had at a time more than a gill. There was a rule in the whole; and, while great liberality was apparent, a reference to the Appendix will show that after all it was display only, and that actually but little became the portion of each.

June 23*rd.* — Sunday and reflection! What a blessing that Sunday has always

been exempt from the barbarities of this most barbarous court!

As our object was to discover, as perfectly as possible, his Majesty's disbursements, and make a calculation of his probable wealth, we had to appear at the palace to count 924 heads of cowries, and to examine the contents of a puncheon of rum to be given to headsmen of towns and districts who had attended these customs. One more remark upon these presents.

I have said before that all people, high and low, are obliged to attend or send a present, each according to his wealth; and these presents (amounting from the slave-dealers to thousands of dollars, in our case to fifteen hundred dollars' worth) are passed in under cover to the palace: no one sees them, and each is afraid to tell his neighbour what he gives. On the other hand, when his Majesty makes a return (about a halfpenny in the pound), all the quality of Dahomey attend, and while heralds proclaim the gift, court-fools and sycophants

laud the giver. Ministers and others stagger under a load of cowries, before receiving which they have wallowed in the dust, and, when these added to their own stores, they are as the drop to the ocean.

PART X.

THE LAST INTERVIEW WITH THE KING, AND CLOSE OF THE MISSION.

June 24th. — It is necessary, before going any further, to introduce the reader to our interpreters, as they will now assume a prominent position. I shall give them the precedence of the Dahoman court, — "that of wealth."

Our interpreter Nar-whey.

First, then, Nar-whey, as rich a merchant as exists in Dahomey, and as great a slave-dealer. This man's father was a servant in the British fort at Whydah, and his son by birthright has his place. He speaks English, but Portuguese better; is "hand and foot" to the viceroy of Whydah, and spy to any that will pay him most. He has got an extensive domain at Whydah; secondly, a large farm at Torree; thirdly, Whybagon; fourthly, Ah-grimeh; fifthly, Troo-boo-doo;

sixthly, Carrnah; and, again, a domain at Abomey. He is the owner of upwards of 1000 slaves, and as deep a villain as ever breathed.

Custom (which rules everybody and every thing at the court of Dahomey) obliges every Englishman to be attended by this rascal. His house in Dahomey is the patrimonial residence; and he sacrificed a male and female slave at the tomb of his father, to be servant and hand-maid to him in the world of spirits.

Mark Lemon.

The second, Mark or Madi-ki Lemon, has been already partly described, a perfect Dahoman: too big a fool to be a rogue, but simple as the untaught child: simply useful, that, in interpreting with the other, if Narwhey gave a wrong version, the king would at once detect it.

John Richards.

The third, John Richards, a Jena man, formerly a slave on board a Brazilian trader to the coast, which vessel, being in a leaky state, put into Fernando Po, and liberated the slave crew. He was the most useful of our interpreters, though very sulky, and

requiring to be much humoured. Fortunately, he was an undisguised abhorrer of the slave trade, and hated the king of Dahomey, as the principal agent in the ruin of his country.

The fourth, Majelica, hardly deserves the name of interpreter. He was the fort interpreter; but, as few Englishmen had for the last half century visited it, he had become unaccustomed to his work, and, although a respectable man, was a bad interpreter. Majelica.

Such were the tools with which we had to attempt that which, if effected, would have given a world-wide fame to our visit.

June 25th. — The mayo visited us, and told us his Majesty would be engaged "making a fetish;" and that, consequently, we would have to stop at least ten days before we could enter upon the object of our mission. We concluded our day by visiting a large assemblage of fetish people, who were making "custom" in the Ah-jah-ee market. A guard of amazons was in the neighbourhood, and within a circle danced

about 100 women, all gaily dressed. Scattered about were the mangled remains of a sacrificed bullock, on which the turkey-buzzards were feeding, with dreadful appetite, in thousands. The men did not appear to take part in the dance; but we had no sooner appeared than Leh-peh-hoong, the king's eldest brother, sent to offer seats. Joining him, we found him superintending the fête, attended by several cabooceers, and were at once supplied with liqueurs of various kinds. The dancing continued with great spirit to the music of several discordant bands. We then visited the pottery (that is to say, we took a bird's-eye view of it from an eminence.) I have already explained why we could not go near to it. The clay is brought from the oozy ground of the valley in the north-west, and covered in small heaps until required.

June 26*th*.—Visited the palace of Ahgongroo (the father of Gezo), at a distance of three miles from Abomey by the south gate: a large enclosure, like all palaces in Dahomey, only inhabited by women. It is thus the king becomes so rich, holding the

numerous progeny of his ancestors as slaves, as well as those yearly gained by war.

Cabinet council.

The ee-a-voo-gan, cha-cha, and Ignatio Da Souza, were all this day closeted with the king, conversing, doubtlessly, on the advantages of the slave-trade. Antonio da Souza had, sans permission, absented himself. To-day he returned much dejected, and the cause was soon current. Advices from Brazil had told him of the near approach of a schooner fully equipped. He arrived in Whydah on the evening of the 22nd; and, on the 23d, saw H. M. steamer Gladiator pass with his schooner in tow.

June 27*th.*—The ee-a-voo-gan called in the morning, and the mayo in the evening; the latter, to disguise his having been closeted with the Brazilians all day, which, to his astonishment, we told him of. Had a bird's-eye view of the dye-house, which has been described as being sacred, as worked by the royal wives.

June 28*th.*—The mayo sent, to say he was very ill, and could not call. We therefore sent a message to him, to desire that he

would acquaint the king with our readiness to make an offer, and, if possible, to conclude a treaty.

June 29*th.*—The mayo called, and requested, in his Majesty's name, we would give him our account of the disbursements of the whole customs, which we explained to him, and also that we were anxious to come to a palaver, as we were losing much time, and it would more accord with the full dignity of the matter to pay immediate attention to it.

Sunday in Dahomey.

June 30*th.*—Sunday is a curious day to contemplate in a barbarous country. What a glorious gift to the labourer is the Sabbath! Yet strange, in three-fourths of the known globe its use is unpractised! In some parts of Africa, there is an intermission of labour.

I am fond of oysters. Do you know, reader, that these lagoons of Africa yield natives? One day being in my boat on the lagoon of Mayumba, a number of sables, of the weaker sex, were jabbering in high delight on the banks, and assembled in hundreds gathering oysters. The mafouka, or head of the customs or

chief trader, was with me, and explained that every fourth day was a holiday, not kept holy, but devoted to the will of the working classes; in short, a sort of remuneration to the slave for the three days labour.

Sunday in Abomey is not known: there is no cessation from a continuous term of pleasure (if the customs deserve the name), even in its African acceptation, except that human nature, being over-burdened, must need relaxation.

July 1*st*. — The mayo called, and explained that he was to meet his Majesty and appoint a day for our interview; asked if we had any proposition to make. We explained to him that he was already possessed with our anxiety for an interview, and that delay was irksome.

The Mahee provinces have been long overrun by Dahomey; yet there still remain parts unconquered. The king held out a promise of amnesty to these, on condition that their chiefs repaired to Abomey, and swore allegiance. This morning, as I re-

The Mahee oath of allegiance.

turned from my walk, a crowd was assembled in rear of a fine-looking black, who, followed by five attendants, entered at the Cannah gate, with a palm-branch round his neck, and passed towards the Dange-lah-cordeh palace.

After my bath, I followed in the same direction, and, entering the square of the Agrim-gomeh palace, found Leh-peh-hoong and the cabooceers assembled ready to receive this chief, who came, under the promised truce, to swear fealty to the tyrant. In front of the cabooceers was Poh-veh-soo, the headsman, and his band of club-men. The envoy of peace passed thrice round in front of the council, each time prostrating, and beating the dust with his forehead; on prostrating the third time, Poh-veh-soo and his gang beat the ground, and, with menacing gestures, caused the degrading ceremony to be repeated over and over again.

The king's account of his expenses.

July 2nd. — The mayo and ee-a-voo-gan called with his Majesty's account of what had been disbursed during the customs. The reader may remember, that on the first day

of the customs an amount of 26,000 heads of cowries (dollars) was declared to have been distributed. Since then, the king had never attempted to cause us to prejudge the amount of his wealth. Yet we nervously expected his majesty would now, through his ministers, place his liberality on such a vast scale as would remove it beyond our power to offer what might appear to be a sufficient argument to cause him to abandon his lucrative traffic in slaves. What, then, was our astonishment, when, after being fearfully frightened by the appearance of four slaves, burdened with cowries, which we knew to be the account, we found the sum total to be 32,000 heads of cowries; or, deducting from these one seventh (the difference of the royal "heads of cowries" from the current head), that he laid his expenses at 28,000 dollars. It perhaps may not be out of place here to explain this difference of currency. Cowries, generally, are paid away in their original state; but those emanating from his Majesty are strung by the ladies of the harem, who charge a per-

The royal and common currencies.

centage of fourteen per cent. The commissioners further explained to us, that what we had witnessed was only one custom: that the remainder of the yearly customs would cost 11,820 dollars. From this report, we augured that his Majesty would be open to conviction; but, as the sequel will prove, we calculated without our host.

One of his Majesty's daughters, whom I had frequently met in my walks, sent me a present of yams and fruit, and an invitation to call: she was the chief wife of the miegan. The allurements offered by this sultana were somewhat to be compared to those of "Jack's" temptation, illustrated in Dibdin's "Sea Songs," in point of beauty and extent of person. I concluded that the society of African princesses was not so agreeable as to invite intrigue.

July 3rd. — The mayo and ee-a-voo-gan called, and gave us the royal command to be ready to enter into particulars to-morrow. In conversation about the trade, they told us that, "if one trade-ship arrived in Why-

dah, the king claimed half the trade; if three, he monopolised two." From this we argued, that these worthies would have us to know that whatever was offered in subsidy, one half only became the property of the king: the other of the traders.

The palaver with the king.

July 4th. — It rained hard during the forenoon. At noon we started for the palace, and at 1 P.M. took our seats in front of the royal couch, in the same state as we were before received. The same parties were present as on the former royal interview.

As usual, compliments passed between us, and, after an immaterial conversation, his Majesty stated (each being possessed of the other's account of the expenditure at the customs, so much discussion was saved) that he now wished to know the ulterior object of the embassy.

The ambassadors' speech.

In the first place, we answered, we hoped he would put a stop to the slave-trade in his vast dominions; and in order to do that, we impressed upon him the methods pursued by neighbouring nations, who, by en-

couraging the growth of the palm-tree, had so well met the market, as now to have a far more advanced and lucrative trade than the Portuguese and Brazilians offered to Dahomey. That the first step to the establishment of the palm-oil trade must be the encouragement of labour within his dominions; and, instead of devastating his neighbours' territories (particularly those whose geographical position placed Dahomey between them and the sea), he should, if war were unavoidable, reduce them, binding them by treaties to join in the pursuit of agriculture and trade, and then, by levying transit duties on their goods, cause them to enrich him far more than the mere sale of the slaves of the exterminating hunt. Thus, by making Dahomey the centre of a vast trading country, all kinds of goods would soon find their way into his kingdom, and instead of being dependent on a few merchants for the paltry articles with which they chose to supply him, he might demand the choicest merchandise of the world, — a boon already obtained by many neighbours.

By thus turning a military into an agricultural people, and raising himself into the envious position of a reformer of the iniquitous and fearful habits of his people, in the course of time, he could abolish those fearful sacrifices he had already reduced in numbers, and then his memory would be revered by all nations, and be handed down in love and peace instead of slaughter.

The king's speech.

The king gave a history of trade, from its earliest commencement in Whydah and Dahomey, down to the present date. First, he said, the French came to Whydah before Dahomey conquered it. War put a stop to trade for many years. The white man left Whydah in Ah-dah-hoon-zar's time: the English traders were the first who landed there, and bought slaves. His father had impressed him with the belief that the English were the first of white men: he thought so, and desired much to be at peace with them. "Time had passed," he continued, "but the Dahomans had never given up slave-dealing. His people were soldiers, his revenue the proceeds of the slave trade

(or the sale of prisoners of war). Do we not observe the absence of agriculture? Other nations deal in slaves, but not like me: they keep no customs, make no general disbursement. The slave-trade of these states must be stopped before I can treat."

The ambassadors' reply.

We again observed that he was parting (for a small pecuniary recompense) with the source of all riches, labour; that, if he retained his slaves and made them cultivate the soil, Dahomey (its resources once developed) would become a great nation, and himself a great king.

The king's letter.

The king then dictated a letter to her Majesty, stating his anxiety for peace with Great Britain; his willingness to enter into treaty when the trade was stopped in the neighbouring petty chiefdoms; his wish for a British consul to be sent to his kingdom; for missionaries to visit Dahomey, and reside in Whydah; and that the military state of his subjects alone at present precluded his becoming the head of an agricultural people.

During the writing of this letter the ministers and interpreters were in full conversation, now and then retiring in couples and whispering. One of the interpreters, speaking of the palm-oil trade being the preferable, was at once silenced by Narwhey, who remarked, that the slave trade was "sweet to him when absent from Englishmen." The ministers all showed their pleasure at his Majesty's postponement, except the viceroy of Whydah, who could not disguise an anxiety, lest the refusal might lead his government into danger from the stoppage of trade.

Lord Chichester's letter.

In order that his Majesty should perfectly understand his letter, I read it to him, (through the interpreters); and finding we could do no more on that subject, Mr. Beecroft produced a copy of a letter from the Earl of Chichester to "Sagbua," chief of Abeahkeutah, in answer to one in which that chief had requested British protection. The mention of Abeahkeutah roused the whole, and several sharp questions were at once put why we befriended the Abeahkeutans,

and telling us that they were the enemies of Dahomey.

We explained that it was too evident they intended to make war on Abeahkeutah; that it was our duty to tell the king that the Abeahkeutans were allies of Great Britain, and that several missionaries were residing there, besides a host of liberated Africans.

The king told Mr. Beecroft that he had better warn the missionaries to leave.* And

* My reasons for being thus impressive on the king were: first, a communication has been kept up between Sayloca, the chief, and the Church Mission Society, on the point of protection; secondly, that the whole colony of Sierra Leone is interested by family connection with Abeahkeutah, and, if anything further were wanting, the following evidence from the examination of the Rev. H. Townsend before Mr. Hutt's committee, would suffice.

7759. Can you state to the committee any succour which has been vouchsafed to you in the formation of that missionary settlement (at Abeahkeutah)? Yes; when I first went to Abeahkeutah I met the chief, Sho-de-ke there. He was not the king, but he had virtually all the power of a king, but he had not the title of honour bestowed upon him. He wished me to return to this country, saying, that he would afford

in answer to his question how the missionaries came there, Mr. Beecroft told him,

all the protection that it was possible for him to do, stating that he would help us to build a residence, and even a church, and would give us children to teach, more than it was possible for us to teach. On my return the wars of the country prevented our proceeding to Abeahkeutah, and we remained at Badagry eighteen months, and myself and Mr. Crowther proceeded at that time to Abeahkeutah.

7760. . . . . We had several communications from him (the chief). But a few days after our arrival Sho-de-ke dies; but the chief that was in his room received us very favourably, gave us ground to build on, and assisted us in every way that he could, and the people were most attentive to our instructions. They assembled together in large numbers; in fact, so much so, that we are now in the course of erecting a fifth place of worship in the course of eighteen months.

7761. I think fifty people was the smallest congregation we ever had.

7762. We have had congregations of many hundreds, perhaps five, six, seven, or eight, hundred occasionally, but not in a place of worship.

7763. . . I think we had thirty-six communicants. . . . (Those were people from Sierra Leone.) But I baptized five natives of the country; that is, persons who had never been to Sierra Leone, who were heathens when I reached the country, and I left in one

that " the men of God were in every country where their labour was likely to make impression on the natives. Would he allow them to reside in Abomey ?"

King. — " No; but they may teach in Whydah."

Turning to the mayo, I asked if he had discovered the owner of the two kroomen ; but he declared he had not. (These kroomen are not British subjects, and therefore I could go no farther.)

We now explained to the king that he held a British subject in prison; that one John M'Carthy, a liberated Sierra Leone African, was at that time incarcerated in the camboodee's house. We were certain of our information, as his wife had seen and conversed with him, and we demanded his release.

The king turned to the mayo, and ordered him to examine into the case, and report

class for particular instruction for baptism sixty-five individuals ; so that altogether there have been seventy persons who have come forward to join the Christian church, professing to have cast away idolatry.

accordingly; and thus ended our last interview by drinking a glass of liqueur together.

July 5th. — The mayo, ee-a-voo-gan, and ca-ou-peh brought his Majesty's presents, and, after much display and many high-flown expressions on the royal munificence, delivered two magnificent country cloths (to me) to present to her Majesty. To Mr. Beecroft and myself (each) a rich country cloth, a captive girl, a cabooceer's stool, and foot-stool, ten heads of cowries, one keg of rum. A small present of cowries and of rum to each interpreter, and our hammockmen. The king's presents.

After the present had been received, the ministers explained to us that his Majesty wished us to know that the last war had cost him 4000 muskets: 4000 more were sent to the Agoonee people; and 4000 were ready for the newly raised soldiers for the next war.

On inquiring when we would start, we explained that we could not leave until some definite answer was given to our demand for the person of John M'Carthy. The mayo

asked for his wife, and, "on her appearance with the child," begged she might go with him, in order to recognise her husband. To which we agreed. On taking leave, the mayo explained that he had the king's command to salute her Majesty and ourselves the following morning.

Employed packing up, and gathering our people.

July 6th. — At six in the morning the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan arrived, and almost at the same time the saluting battery sent forth a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of her Majesty Queen Victoria; while we drank her health in a glass of Madeira; after which, thirteen guns were fired for each, Mr. Beecroft and myself.

We again demand M'Carthy's release.

The ministers were then very anxious to take leave. We demanded of them the deliverance of John M'Carthy, his wife and child (whom we ascertained had been imprisoned by the camboodee). In answer, they explained that the king would certainly free them, but he had not had time to see into the matter.

I then turned to the ee-a-voo-gan (viceroy of Whydah) and put the question, "Would he hold himself responsible to either Mr. Beecroft or myself (should either of us return to Whydah), for the appearance of the prisoners?" He evaded the question, and said that "such a matter was not worth talking about, it was a small palaver, and the king would soon end it; that it was entirely in the king's hands, and that as the prisoners were not in his power, he could not be held responsible."

Seeing, evidently, that if left, the unfortunate trio would be summarily dealt with, I seized my note book, which lay on the table, and standing up, thus addressed them, with strong emphasis: —

"I am going straight to England, and shall acquaint her Majesty that the king of Dahomey holds three British subjects in prison;" at the same time dashing the book on the table. The shock was electrical; they begged of me not to be angry, that they would go at once to the king and intercede. I then added, that "as I had spoken, so I

would act;" and shortly after they took leave.

We leave Abomey.

The baggage having started before, at 10 A.M. we quitted Abomey. A fine clear day. Walked to Cannah.

On arrival, found Mr. Beecroft had gone on to Zooboodoo, and that one of the three men we had purchased was so ill he could not walk. It occupied me about three hours to hire two men to carry him, and purchase a country cloth to sling him to a pole. This man having been doomed by the king, it appeared against the wish of the people to assist him, and for some time I failed in getting any assistance for him; at last, I placed him in my own hammock, and made my hammockmen carry him. Promising that, unless they found others to do so, I would myself walk, and they should carry the wretched man to Whydah, they soon found some slaves of Narwhey whom they pressed into service.

Hasty message from the king. M'Carthy released.

Still walking, I had reached about three miles from Cannah, when a messenger, breathless with haste, overtook me, telling

me that Narwhey (who had left us) was on the road, on horseback, with a message from the king. In a short time he came up, followed by John M'Carthy, his wife, and child, and, prostrating, told me his Majesty had sent them with this message: "He could not keep a British subject in prison." Narwhey hinted that a present would be acceptable to his Majesty; which was sent from Whydah.

We slept at Zooboodoo, and much more happily than we could have expected.

M'Carthy's case.

Mrs. M'Carthy had been seized almost immediately after leaving our house, stripped, chained, and imprisoned in the camboodee's house. Having heard, on the evening of July 5th, from a passer-by, that she had been imprisoned, I sent Richards, one of the interpreters, to ascertain the facts of the case. He returned about one next morning, and explained, that not only had Mrs. M'Carthy been imprisoned, but that her house had been plundered, and the neighbours feared to speak to him about her; that his steps had been dogged by some of the camboodee's

soldiers. About midnight she was clothed and enlarged, and her infant, who had been removed, returned to her, probably from Richards's appearance; shortly after, she was again stripped and ironed.

The next morning, her guards told her that the camboodee would reward her for reporting the king to the white men as soon as they had left the city, and that she might prepare for death. John M'Carthy was also told, that his wife had been seized, and he, his wife, and child, would be put to death that day.

In the forenoon they were taken out of prison, and some of their boxes brought, from which they were hurriedly allowed to select each a dress, and each to make a small bundle; they were then taken to the square of Dange-lah-cordeh, where his Majesty sat, surrounded by his people. Expecting instant death, they prostrated, and were going to throw dirt on their heads, when the king forbade them, told them they were "white men," and that they were now free.

The property of both was retained; nor did I like to interfere further after so great a victory.

July 7th. — Passed the swamp, which was very bad (owing to the late rains); we were twelve hours on the road.

July 8th. — This morning, outside the gate of our quarters at Wagon, guarded by about thirty musketeers, were the bodies of two deceased cabooceers, one from Whydah, the other from Gohdohmeh. It is the custom of Dahomey that the bodies of all officers that die shall be sent for interment to Abomey, for the following reasons: —

The bodies of the two cabooceers.

1st. That the king has a sure report of the decease.

2nd. That the official positions are mostly held by Abomey people, and all have ancestral houses in the city, in which there is invariably a family tomb. Whenever a great man, or a man in favour with the king, dies, a boy and a girl at least are sacrificed on the tomb; the girl to be handmaid, the boy to attend the deceased in the land of spirits: these at least, but frequently more. It is

also customary for the favourite wife to commit suicide; being generally the last wish of the dying, and as they imagine they pass into the land of spirits together. But frequently many of the wives are also sacrificed to illustrate the filial piety of the heir.

Arrival at Whydah.

July 9th. — Arrived at Whydah, and found H.M.S. Bonetta had anchored the day before.

July 18th.—Paid all debts of the Mission. The currency of Dahomey had put us to several straits and inconveniences. I have before mentioned ten dollars as a load, in cowries, for a man. The French merchant's house was the only one we could purchase from; and every week we had to send for a fresh supply. The roads being bad, they were sometimes behind time; and at last we had five of our carriers on the road, besides three sick. We were constrained to hire labour from Narwhey, who lent his slaves at a dollar a head (which he pocketed), subsisting them *en route* at his various farms.

Having sent to the ship for money, Mr.

Down, the clerk in charge, came on shore with it. The surf being very high, he was unable to return, and, I regret to have to record it, contracted the fever, and died on the passage to Sierra Leone.

It was the most sickly time in Whydah, and many we met were either suffering or recovering from fever. By the will and goodness of Providence, we had both escaped; and except an attack of ague (in my case the remains of the same disease in China) we each contracted from getting thoroughly drenched in a tornado, had not had a headache.

July 11*th.* — The sea having moderated a little, embarked the baggage, after it had been once capsized and washed on shore, although damaged, but little lost.

Fetish snake.

July 12. — On leaving the British fort this morning, we learned that an extraordinary instance of the gorging of the fetish snake had taken place in the night. The reptile lay in the kitchen in dreadful pain, trying to force the hind legs and tail of a cat into his distended stomach, now in the shape of the

half-swallowed victim. A fetish woman arriving, carried her deity to the temple.

No canoe-men for British officers.

We had much difficulty in getting canoe-men. Mr. ——'s agent has none; in answer to application at the French fort, the agents sent to regret that their canoe-men were working in rethatching the fort (an unqualified falsehood); the cha-cha's were gone to meet Ignatio Da Souza, whose array as a cabooceer, with noise and dirt, was entering the town; Domingo Martins' were all at Porto Novo. José Almeida, in answer to Mr. ——'s agent's application, sent the truth. "If you want a set of canoe-men for yourself, you shall have them; if for a merchant vessel of any nation, they are at your service; but for British officers, I'll see them damned first!"

Our hammockmen, useful fellows, were put into a canoe belonging to Mr. ——; and the surf not being very high, we got well outside the bar, and embarked in the boats of H. M. S. Bonetta.

The assassin of Don Juan.

I was once in conversation with a native of Madeira, a slave-merchant. "That man,"

he said, pointing to a young Portuguese, "is a murderer." One day, seated in his hall, Don Juan —— entered, and asked him if he had any fire-arms in his house. On being answered in the negative, he displayed a brace of pistols, and snapped each at Don Iago, and then rushed from the house. Don Iago, feeling certain that his life was not safe, and that there was no law to protect him, agreed with a sailor of a captured slaver (a Brazilian) who had been landed, to murder Don Juan for one ounce of gold. That night he watched in vain, and in the night came repentance; the next morning Don Iago sought his hireling, and explained to him his repentance, and offered another ounce to quit him of his engagement. What was his astonishment at its being indignantly rejected!

"Do you think I am chicken-hearted? I have made up my mind Don Juan shall die, and nothing shall save him: if you dare to interfere, I'll have your life too."

In the evening, under the shade of some lofty trees, in the square to the right of the

British fort, the murderer waylaid and shot his victim.

In consequence of the murder of a Portuguese priest by fire-arms some short time before, the king passed a law inflicting a heavy fine for the discharge of fire-arms after dark. No sooner was the deed done, than the murderer was arrested, and marched to Abomey; but the merchants dared not allow the king to revenge their colleague's death, lest, having once executed the extreme penalty of the law on the white man, the precedent might be dangerous. They bought him off.

In a more important case, which occurred about the same time, the king's ideas of justice were not so easily overcome. A German merchant in Fernando Po sent his son to trade with Da Souza; and, leaving his house with some thousands of dollars in specie about his person, was waylaid by one of Da Souza's sons, and murdered. The culprit was seized and confined, but escaped by giving up three slaves to be decapitated;

whose heads on gibbets marked the spot for months after.

Arriving at Princes, we were soon joined by H.M.S. Centaur, with the pendant of the commander-in-chief; and on July 24th sailed for England; Mr. Beecroft proceeding in H. M. S. Jackal to the seat of his government, Fernando Po.

I am not sure that my fellow-traveller, Mr. Beecroft, would much like my passing eulogium on him. His activity astonished me; and his perseverance was far beyond what could be expected, after two and twenty years' service in Africa, most of it in the rivers, and (perhaps not generally known) nine years in a French prison. As consul in the Bights he has the reward of many important services: the assistance he rendered the unfortunate Niger expedition by no means the least. As a fellow-labourer, although considerably my senior in years, he always took his share of the work; and as a companion, I would not wish a better.

With Mr. Beecroft I sent the two men I

had purchased to Fernando Po, where the generous governor promised to give each a piece of land. At parting I gave them a bag of clothes, the names of John and George Forbes, and a free paper, as follows: —

"Released from the Dahomey shambles, May 31st."

The king's present, the little girl, I have brought to England. She ingratiated herself with the crew, among whom she was a general favourite.

Should the Abeahkeutans make a good defence, a check might do much towards putting down this slave-hunting monarch; Abeahkeutah, being a central point of trade, might, if the conquering party, soon overrule the other slave monarchs, and, assisted by the presence of the squadron without, put a stop to the slave trade in the Bights, reducing the line of coast to be blockaded to a mere tithe of what it was two years since.

The Dahoman captive, Sarah Forbes Bonetta.

I have only to add a few particulars about my extraordinary present, "the African child." In a former portion of these journals I have mentioned the Okeadon

war: one of the captives of this dreadful slave hunt was this interesting girl. It is usual to reserve the best born for the high behests of royalty, and the immolation on the tombs of the deceased nobility. For one of these ends she had been detained at court for two years; proving, by her not having been sold to the slave-dealers, that she was of a good family.

So extraordinary a present would have been at least a burden, had I not the conviction that, in consideration of the nature of the service I had performed, the government would consider her as the property of the Crown. To refuse, would have been to have signed her death-warrant; which, probably, would have been carried into execution forthwith.

Immediately on arriving, I applied through the Secretary of the Admiralty, and received for answer that Her Majesty was graciously pleased to arrange for the education and subsequent fate of the child. God grant she may be taught to consider that her duty leads her to rescue those who have not

had the advantages of education from the mysterious ways of their ancestors!

Of her own history she has only a confused idea. Her parents were decapitated; her brothers and sisters, she knows not what their fate might have been. For her age, supposed to be eight years, she is a perfect genius; she now speaks English well, and has a great talent for music. She has won the affections, with but few exceptions, of all who have known her, by her docile and amiable conduct, which nothing can exceed. She is far in advance of any white child of her age, in aptness of learning, and strength of mind and affection; and with her, being an excellent specimen of the negro race, might be tested the capability of the intellect of the Black: it being generally and erroneously supposed that after a certain age the intellect becomes impaired, and the pursuit of knowledge impossible — that though the negro child may be clever, the adult will be dull and stupid. Her head is considered so excellent a phrenological specimen, and illustrating such high

intellect, that Mr. Pistrucci, the medallist of the mint, has undertaken to take a bust of her, intending to present a cast to the author. Her mind has received a moral and religious impression, and she was baptized, according to the rites of the Protestant church, Sarah Forbes Bonetta.

Thus do I close my notes of a visit to a country, and residence among a people, heretofore known only by report to Europeans. My long service in the African squadron, as well as the peculiar nature of my mission, have naturally led me to introduce a few observations on the question of the repression of the iniquitous traffic. Generally, however, I have preferred to give facts as I found them, and to leave them to speak for themselves.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

Procession of the King's Wealth. May 30th, 1850.

58 ministers and cabooceers, headed by Ah-hoh-peh, the king's brother, followed by Ignatio Da Souza, after marching three times round the square, all except the latter prostrated, and threw dirt on their heads.

30 military officers, the same.

40 privileged males marched round and bowed to the throne.

12 eunuchs marched three times round, and, prostrating, kissed the dust.

16 native merchants from Whydah prostrated, and threw dust on their heads.

The king left his throne, and crossed over to our station. After a short conversation he drank

our health, guns firing, ministers and cabooceers, &c., dancing and shouting on his Majesty's return.

16 malams (Mahomedan priests from Haussa) marched round, prostrated, and kissed the dust. I much doubt, except in dress and some outward show, that these priests are Mahomedans; the very fact of their prostrating to the king would go far to prove them not.

14 liberated "Bahia" Africans, in the European costume, advanced in front of the king's position, and standing, saluted him with cries of '*Viva el rey de Dahomey!*" These unfortunate men are forced sojourners in the land.

200 male soldiers, holding aloft their muskets, saluted the king with their rattles. "Each soldier has a metal rattle round his neck."

200 amazons saluted the king in a similar manner as above.

40 amazon standard-bearers passed in review.

14 of the royal sisters prostrated and kissed the dust.

Procession in single file of 2540 women next passed, carrying the royal wealth to the market (each bearing her portion on her head), to display it to the nation, as follows:

6 head royal wives.

7 forming a band of amazons playing on horns made of solid elephant's tusks.

5 carrying painted poles.

5 drawing a standard on a car, on wheels.

9 carrying standards, two of them union-jacks.

12 carrying red poles, with yellow heads.

3 carrying crutch sticks.

17 carrying hoes covered with red baize.

1 carrying a silver scimitar.

90 carrying jugs covered with white cloth, all dressed in spotted blue tobes.

130 carrying cowries (about three dollars'-worth each).

13 carrying cowries (about two dollars'-worth each).

143 all dressed in red striped tobes.

16 carrying hoes covered with red cloth.

30 carrying walking sticks.

22 carrying swords.

22 carrying muskets, two each.

111 carrying wooden ornaments of dogs, pigs, sheep, &c., jugs, &c., and two glass chandeliers, all in striped tobes.

25 carrying silver ornaments, tea-pots, &c.

30 forming a band of drums, tom-toms, &c.

12 forming a band of calabash instruments.

16 royal sisters.

28 forming a band of tom-toms.

6 carrying cloths.

20 forming a band of tom-toms, drums, &c.

30 ladies in hats and feathers, the representatives in the harem of the thirty privileged males, necromancers.

50 surrounding the head wife, who passed, unseen, under an umbrella.

30 forming a band of elephant's tusk horns.

20 children.

10 wives of the king.

2 carrying blunderbusses.

5 carrying long sticks with silver heads.

21 wives of the king in grass cloth dresses, and white head-bands.

8 wives of the king in blue tobes.

1220 carrying cowries, from two to four heads each, or from two to four dollars'-worth.

200 carrying each a plateful of cowries.

18 carrying each two heads of cowries, in mats.

7 carrying each two heads of cowries, in baskets.

7 carrying each two heads of cowries, in mats.

170 carrying each two rolls of cloth.

46 carrying each two rolls of white baft.

8 carrying each a basket of hats.

47 carrying each several Dutch pipes.

7 carrying each several pouches.

7 carrying each rolls of tobacco.

5 carrying each two kegs of wine.

10 carrying each two kegs of rum.
4 carrying each rolls of tobacco.
16 carrying each a piece of salt beef.
2 carrying each calabashes of flint.

Men.

4 men, each carrying on his head a man tied hand and foot, and lashed in a wooden canoe, intended for to-morrow's sacrifice.

8 men, each carrying on his head a man tied hand and foot, and lashed in baskets, intended for to-morrow's sacrifice.

1 man carrying an alligator, lashed in a basket, for sacrifice.

1 man carrying a cat, lashed in a basket, for sacrifice.

3 men carrying each a human skull.

3 men carrying the royal stool of state, ornamented with human skulls.

20 men carrying the royal drums, one ornamented with twenty human skulls.

12 men carrying a huge tub, ornamented with carved men's heads.

6 men carrying a drum, ornamented with twelve human skulls.

4 men leading two horses and two sheep.

3 men leading an emu.

3 men leading an ostrich.

30 male soldiers armed with muskets.

12 forming a male band of elephants' tusks.

12 forming a male band of drums.

10 males carrying silver ornaments, each three feet high.

100 male soldiers, armed with muskets.

8 dwarfs and hunchbacks.

20 male soldiers armed with muskets.

12 forming a male band of drums.

30 singing men.

12 forming a male band.

50 male soldiers armed with muskets

Women.

60 amazons of the elephant destroyers.

20 carrying war stools, ornamented with human skulls.

20 amazons armed with muskets.

20 amazons carrying drums ornamented with twenty-four skulls.

12 amazons, band of drums, &c.

20 amazons armed with muskets.

12 carrying drum ornamented with twelve skulls.

20 amazons armed with blunderbusses.

12 amazons, band of elephant's tusk horns.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

1 amazon leading a horse.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

12 forming a band, drums.

60 amazons, armed with muskets.

12 forming a band, drums.

20 amazons.

1 amazon leading a horse.

12 forming a band, elephant's tusk horns.

60 amazons guarding a carriage drawn by four, and attended by four of the king's wives under parasols.

20 amazons.

15 women carrying silver ornaments.

19 women carrying washing basins.

10 women carrying ornaments.

12 women carrying mahogany boxes.

8 women carrying mahogany liquor cases.

20 group of girls.

4 men carrying a wooden imitation of a fort carried by the Dahoman amazons.

16 women carrying state stools.

8 ladies of the royal chamber, handsomely dressed, ornamented with gold and silver, attended by

40 women.

13 women carrying calabashes of provisions.

3 women carrying silver baskets.

500 amazons, armed with muskets.

12 forming a band of tom-toms.

10 fetish women.

4 women drawing a carriage made in Dahomey.

33 women carrying large silver-headed sticks.

1 woman carrying a silver scimitar.

4 women carrying large silver ornaments.

1 woman carrying silver baskets.

40 women carrying jugs and ornaments.

50 women carrying pots-de-chambre.

15 women carrying white glass goblets.

13 women carrying blue glass goblets.

70 women carrying blue bottles, from two to three gallons each.

50 women carrying washing-jugs.

4 women carrying one chandelier.

3 women carrying trunks.

2 women carrying one long tin box.

1 woman carrying a washing-tub.

4 women carrying one chest of drawers, with looking-glass.

MEN.

20 soldiers, armed with muskets.

14 carrying banners.

12 carrying three large calabashes full of the skulls of kings, &c., killed in war.

30 king's brothers and nephews.

1 albino.

Women.

30 malams' wives and attendants round the head eunuch's mother.

12 forming a band of tom-toms.

6 women carrying skulls in calabashes.

12 forming a band of elephant's tusk horns.

30 singing women.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

30 women from the Leffleefoo province.

30 women from the Taffla provinces.

25 dancing women.

18 king's wives and attendants, under six umbrellas.

We received a present of rum in a country pot ornamented with beads.

40 amazons, armed with muskets, guarding eight skull-surmounted banners.

60 amazons, banners, skulls, &c., surrounding the lady holding the title of royal mother.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

60 amazons, banners, skulls, &c., surrounding the royal grandmother.

We received a present of dinner, consisting of soups, stews, and fowls, in washhand basins, &c.;

knives and forks, of very antique shape, of iron. We discussed our dinner with some lemonade, gayzeuse, and noyeau, sent by his Majesty.

40 women carrying banners, stools, and boxes.

60 amazons, banners, and attendants, round two ancient ladies of the harem, bearing the title of dowager queens.

10 women carrying human skulls.

40 amazons, banners, &c., round one dowager queen.

70 amazons, banners, &c., round one dowager queen.

30 women dance before the queen.

60 amazons' band, and dancing women.

30 band and singing women round one royal wife, in a cuirass.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

2 amazons carrying British union-jacks.

30 royal wives, handsomely dressed.

2 amazons carrying each a large knife mounted on a human skull.

5 carrying each a shield ornamented with a human skull.

8 carrying each a banner, the pole surmounted by a human skull.

20 band of drums.

200 amazons, armed with muskets, attending on seven wives, mothers by the king, handsomely

dressed, all danced before the king, with the skull ornaments above mentioned.

80 trophies of war, arms, &c.

We received a present of some wine in a novel set of decanters, being the bottles of a handsome cruet-stand; the mustard-pot of which, we were given to understand, was the tumbler of the set.

For the last hour, the groups forming the procession had been returning, and the ladies of the royal household had merely passed in review. All parties on re-entering the court-yard, collected, *en masse*, under some large trees in front of the royal tent; in front, the royal wives, and in their rear, the amazons and bands. When the last of the procession had passed, an opera scene commenced; the royal ladies singing, in his Majesty's praise, their songs, chorused by the whole of the amazons, relieved every now and then by parties of dancing girls. The procession consisted of 6,500 people; in the court were, besides, about 2000 females round the king, and about 5000 males on the opposite side, observers of the day's fête; while, outside the palace, were the whole nation, admirers of the magnificence of their sovereign. Immediately outside the gate, was a huge wooden model of an elephant, on wheels, caparisoned, and bearing on its back, a howdah: this is the "car-

riage" on which his Majesty is drawn when he travels short stages in state.

The articles of the royal wealth are the proceeds of the slave trade, and more than two thirds of them British. It would be easy to estimate their actual value; but not the revenue of the kingdom, as that fluctuates, dependent on the annual slave hunt. The actual amount of money displayed in cowries (the currency of the state) was as near as possible 4500 dollars, or about 1000 pounds, sounding, in sterling money, but a small sum; yet, when it be considered that this money is imported in 112 hogsheads, and consists of 11,250,000 cowrie shells, it will appear differently.

B.

Appendix to the Review of the First of June.

NUMBER OF ARMED MEN IN EACH REGIMENT, AND NAMES OF THE OWNERS OR GENERALS.

No. in Regiment.		Generals.
100	muskets -	The possoo.
50	do. -	To-kae-noo.

No. in Regiment.			Generals.
20	muskets	-	Toh-gah-poh.
200	do.	-	The camboodee.
20	do.	-	Dah-qwae.
50	do.	-	Ah-jae-noo.
20	do.	-	Ah-do-moh-noo-to.
80	do.	-	Ah-soh-gnon.
8	do.	-	Nea-ga-do-boo.
22	do.	-	A-dah-fong-ko.
4	do.	-	Kah-zoo.
14	do.	-	Heng-joh.
26	do.	-	Boh-peh.
6	do.	-	Ah-lee-lae-noo.
7	do.	-	Mae-choo noo.
40	do.	-	Faw-nee.
30	do.	-	No-de-ferey.
50	do.	-	A-che-lee.
38	do.	-	A-jah-woo.
41	do.	-	Toh-koo-noo-vee-joh.
52	do.	-	Yah-joh.
22	do.	-	Mee-veh-doh.
80	do.	-	Ah-kee-lee-vee.
130	do.	-	Ignatio da Souza.
149	do.	-	The ee-a-voo-gan (viceroy).
300	do.	-	The mayo (minister).
140	do.	-	The miegan (prime minister).
350	do.	-	The king's sons.
1000	do.	-	The king's men.

No in Regiment.		Generals.
660	muskets -	The king's brothers.
80	musketoons -	The camboodee (treasurer).
40	bows and arrows -	E-jah-koh.
20	musk. grasscoats	Zoh-poh.
3831	total fighting men.	
396	bandsmen.	
50	banner-men.	
100	umbrella-men.	
4377	total men reviewed.	

NUMBER OF ARMED AMAZONS IN EACH REGIMENT.

420	armed with muskets.
14	do.
32	wall-pieces.
7	blunderbusses.
53	muskets.
36	do.
11	do.
320	do.
80	do.
240	do.
300	do.

60 muskets.
56 do.
104 do.
240 do.
96 do.

2069 total fighting women.
252 bandswomen.
27 banner-women.
60 umbrellas.

2408 total women reviewed.
4377 men.

6785 total soldiers under arms.

C.

Presents distributed by the King, May 31st.

During the greater part of the day his Majesty was employed in throwing goods to his soldiers, to the amount of 2000 dollars in value; besides which he distributed as follows:

A large country cloth to each of—

8 ministers.

20 military officers received ten heads of cowries * and one piece of white baft.

50 head men of towns ten heads of cowries, four pieces of cloth, and one bottle of rum.

30 head men of towns in Mahee, the same.

30 head men of towns in Ahgonee, the same.

23 head men of towns in Ashantee, the same.

16 head men of towns in Eyeo, the same.

1 head Malam one head of cowries, half piece of baft.

1 king's fool, half head of cowries.

4 gunners, half head of cowries.

7 human skull standard-bearers.

His Majesty sent ten heads of cowries (value ten dollars) and two pieces of cloth, as presents to Mr. Beecroft and myself.

30 head men of scramblers, half head of cowries each.

Breakfast sent by his Majesty.

50 ministers and cabooceers, one bag of cowries (twelve dollars), one piece of white baft, and one roll of tobacco.

The king presented a chief of Kangaroo with one head of cowries, and one piece of cloth.

To Ah-hoh-peh, the king's brother, the same.

* A head of cowries is 2,500 shells.

Succeeded by twelve human sacrifices, an alligator, and a cat, given by the king to his people.

D.

Procession of the Royal Wealth, June 3rd, 1850.

After the prostrations of the ministers and high officers in a similar manner as described in May 30th, came the procession in single file, each person carrying goods on the head in the following order:

Procession of Women.

40 cabooceers of the king's harem under umbrellas, and preceded by two standards, followed by a band of drums and tom-toms.

160 amazons in handsome country cloth tunics and silver ornaments, white caps, and blue device.

46 fetish women, in cloths of all colours, passed under a salute of great guns.

6 amazons, richly dressed, being a part of the harem police.

8 band playing on elephant's tusk horns.

3 carrying banner poles.

7 carrying calabashes of cloths.

11 girls in crimson robes playing on long-mouthed instruments, like clarionets.

6 girls, shorter.

18 carrying hoes with scarlet handles.

1 carrying silver scimitar.

66 carrying country pots.

117 carrying country pots ornamented with beads.

9 carrying large country pots.

11 carrying baskets.

54 carrying red beads round their arms, and several coral necklaces round their necks.

25 carrying beads round their arms, and several blue necklaces round their necks.

17 carrying yellow beads round their arms, and yellow necklaces round their necks.

10 carrying red beads round their arms, and red coral necklaces round their necks; all these in spotted red robes, and each carrying a bamboo broom in her left hand.

1 carrying basket of cowries.

33 carrying ornamented baskets, blue robes.

31 carrying whips and sticks, in scarlet cloth robes and beads.

13 carrying red coral beads, blue robes, and hats.

19 wearing white hats.

68 in red robes, carrying sticks in their left hands.

16 in blue robes.

12 in white spotted robes.

2 carrying images.

2 carrying carved sheep.

2 carrying dogs, image.

1 carrying bird, image.

1 carrying horseman clock, image.

3 carrying images.

19 carrying Toby Philpot pots (in robes of various colours).

19 in bonnets, scarlet robes and beads, bamboo brooms in left hand.

5 no bonnets, scarlet robes and beads, bamboo brooms in left hand.

38 in blue tunics, red caps, balancing muskets by the muzzles, stocks in the air.

1 of the royal wives in a slouched black hat, crimson robe.

8 followers in red robes.

12 carrying pots ornamented with cowries.

37 carrying cloths, silks, velvets, &c.

2 carrying glass chandeliers.

7 carrying French ornaments.

3 carrying large silver ornaments, one three feet high (an ostrich with a real egg under each wing), in robes of various colours.

2 amazons.

10 composing the band.

30 singers.

11 composing a band, in tunics of country cloth.

6 carrying jars covered with cloth.

2 carrying baskets.

1 carrying gilt chair.

1 carrying ebony chest, bound with silver.

2 carrying baskets.

1 carrying calabash.

1 carrying box.

The above 1019 women marched by in single file, all well dressed, and at close distances, with the articles on their heads.

8 amazons, guard.

4 amazons, with long brass trumpets, surrounded by 100 women in different coloured robes. Under a red umbrella, unseen, one of the king's wives.

Band of forty.

Guard of sixteen amazons.

2 banner women.

5 of the royal wives in slouched hats, and scarlet and crimson dresses.

7 carrying sticks.

9 carrying sticks.

300 with dishes, and a basket in each.

55 carrying blue glass goblets.

50 carrying white glass goblets.

2 of the royal wives in slouched hats.

3 attendants.

All the above, well dressed, march in single file, with articles on the head.

Procession of Men.

1 carrying banner.

1 carrying a tray containing three human skulls.

2 carrying large king's war-stools, covered with crimson damask and silver, and ornamented with human skulls, carried by twelve men.

3 attendants.

12 (guard) armed with blunderbusses, in blue and red country cloth tunics, white caps, blue device.

King's washing-tub, borne by thirty (guard).

2 carrying scarlet and gold sedan-chair.

6 guard.

10 bearers, banner.

4 guard.

Box on wheels.

20 attendants.

2 carrying umbrellas.

2 officers in scarlet tunics, leading an emu and an ostrich.

6 men.

8 composing band.

To each of the following articles, carriages, &c., was a band of, on an average, 10.

20 guard.

2 banner-men.

2 carrying umbrellas.

Landau (English).

Large box on four wheels.

Rich bed, with crimson silk damask curtains.

2 horses, and three large goats, elegantly caparisoned.

1 man carrying umbrella, ornamented with eighty human jaw-bones from the Eyeo war.

6 carrying skull drum.

12 carrying skulls.

14 guard.

26 men.

3 carrying skull drums.

2 skulls and twenty jaw-bones.

20 men.

6 carrying skull drums.

24 carrying skulls.

20 composing band.

20 guard.

20 blunderbuss men.

6 boys.

10 guard.

10 men drawing wooden horse, on wheels.

20 composing band.
20 composing band.
20 composing band.
20 composing band.
2 carrying huge tin vases.
3 carrying banners.
4 carrying spears.
16 guard.
A green chariot (English).
20 followers.
20 dwarfs.
18 composing band.
16 guard.
2 carrying banners.
A native sofa.
20 composing band.
14 bearers.
Horse caparisoned.
16 carrying spears (guard).
An English chariot (yellow).
16 men.
20 guard.
20 guard.
Band of four brass drums (English).
3 tambourines (English).
5 guard.
4 composing band.

All the above were well-dressed in tunics or robes of every hue, and marched past in very good order.

Procession of Women.

Banner.

40 amazons, in crimson tunics and red caps, that draw the carriages when the king rides.

3 war-stools covered with crimson and silver-velvet cloth, ornamented with human skulls, borne by seventeen.

Guard 26.

1 carrying umbrella.

1 head wife.

Drum ornamented with twelve skulls.

Band 6.

Guard 21.

2 carrying drums; one ornamented with human jaw-bones and skulls.

1 drum with twenty-four skulls, borne by thirty.

Band of 6.

Guard of 20 carrying blunderbusses and small brass guns; all dressed in red tunics and caps.

Each of the following were attended by a guard of about twenty.

Band 10.

30 bearers.

An English wheeled-chair of the time of Elizabeth.

Wheeled-chair, with a huge bird before it, on wheels of Dahomey make.

Highly carved gold and crimson chair.

Handsome small cabriolet, lined with crimson silk.

Glass coach, Dahomey make.

English family-coach.

Blue and gold elegant sedan chair.

Guard 100.

Warrior on wheels, Dahomey make.

2 wooden mounted horsemen on wheels (English).

2 banners.

Sarcophagus on wheels.

In single file, with articles on their heads.

2 children.

1 head wife.

10 carrying ornaments.

16 carrying glass bottles.

16 carrying washing basins.

10 carrying basins, full of scarfs.

1 carrying a large silver ornament.

5 carrying basins heaped with small cowries.

14 carrying mahogany boxes and desks, with cloths, silks, velvets, &c., on top.

1 carrying a red and gold vase.

1 carrying a brass pan, full of cloths.

The above carried by women in damask silk dresses.

1 huge ottoman of deer skin, painted or dyed.

1 banner.

1 huge hat.

40 women. The imitation of the fort in Kangaroo, taken by the Dahomans.

3 stools.

Guard of 200 amazons.

3 huge European-shaped and two smaller umbrellas.

6 ladies of the chamber dressed most magnificently in scarlet and gold tunics, slashed with green silk and satin, with sashes and handkerchiefs of silk, satin, and velvet of every colour; coral and bead necklaces, silver ornaments and wristbands: one wore a Charles II.'s hat, covered with gold lace and milk-white plumes; the other five wore gilt helmets, with green and red plumes. Each carried a high cane, surmounted with large gold or silver beads. These ladies are called the *Pausee*, and are of the principal wives; they took their stand to the left of the tent, while the guard formed round a tree in front, together with many more amazons, and all sang the king's praises. The scene now was purely theatrical; the dresses beautiful; altogether about 1000

women under arms, in uniform, crimson, red, and scarlet tunics, while the procession continued to pass in front.

8 carrying silver ornaments.

4 carrying silver bottle-stands.

3 carrying silver baskets.

7 carrying basins, with three bottles in each.

3 carrying coloured bottles.

8 carrying other ornaments.

Procession again in single file.

Band 30.

Dahoman-made chair on wheels, covered with handsome country cloth.

1 umbrella.

20 women.

26 carrying large silver-headed sticks.

Silver scimitar.

2 carrying boxes.

8 carrying glass ornaments and jar.

16 carrying washing-jugs.

23 carrying French ornamented jugs.

16 carrying water coolers.

52 carrying chamber utensils, more useful than ornamental.

50 carrying white glass bottles.

51 carrying blue bottles.

73 carrying large blue bottles of two or three gallons.

52 carrying white flowered vases.

6 carrying jars.

1 carrying a calabash.

10 carrying French ornaments under glass shades.

1 carrying a washing-pan.

1 carrying a crimson-cushioned ebony rocking-chair.

1 carrying a box.

1 carrying a washing stand.

1 carrying a toilette table, drawers, and glass.

2 carrying stools.

3 carrying banners.

1 carrying a skull in a copper pan.

2 carrying calabashes, full of skulls.

2 carrying shields.

Head bunseh's mother, in scarlet, wearing a life-guardsman's helmet and plumes, and attended by a lady in a Charles II.'s hat and plumes, both magnificently dressed.

8 Malam's wives.

Band 20.

Guard 100.

Band of 12.

30 Whydah women of the harem pass dancing.

Band of 12.

60 Yoriba women of the harem pass dancing.

Band of 12.

60 Kato women dancing; one advances, dances, and throws herself back into the arms of three others, who receive her and replace her on her legs; then another, &c.

Band of 8.

9 European umbrellas over the nine matrons of the harem.

30 attendants.

Band of 20.

Guard 40.

4 carrying pans of skulls.

2 carrying jars surmounted with skulls.

1 carrying a large pan of skulls.

1 carrying a banner.

2 carrying umbrellas over the king's mother and her attendant, in country cloth dresses and slouched hats trimmed with gold.

The following are attended by —

20 band.

30 guard.

2 carrying pans of skulls.

2 carrying jars of skulls.

1 carrying a banner and two umbrellas each.

King's grandmother in head-dress of silver, crimson and silver robe and train, held by a maiden bearing a gold-headed stick: the former (the grandmother) sent us about half a pint of rum.

One of the king's grandfather's widows in scarlet and gold.

Another king's widow in gold-laced hat and crimson robe.

Another king's widow in gilt helmet and red robe.

30 women, in scarlet tunics and red caps, form a circle round a band in front of the tent, and dance very spiritedly; one of the amazons performs a *pas seul*, screeching wildly. Six with horses' tails and spears with handkerchiefs on them, dressed in blue tunics and high glazed caps, dance a spear-dance before thirty attendants (in front of the king's tent), who keep time with their feet to the dance.

4 carrying banners.

2 carrying images.

Guard 30.

20 in blue tunics, red trousers, and red and silver caps, dance a sword-dance, with naked swords; the guard in red tunics join in the dance, sing, howl, hold their muskets aloft, rattle their rattles, and fall in round the tree.

12 amazons bring the muzzles of their muskets and their heads together in a circle, howl, and dance a musket-dance.

Amazon guard advancing and retreating a pace, shouting and singing.

E.

Names of the Ministers and Officers of the Dahoman Kingdom, who received the Royal Bounty June 7th, 1849, with the Amount given to each.

	Dolls.		Dolls.
Miegan - - -	8	Ah-noo-loh-ko - -	2½
Mayo - - -	do.	Too-ah - - -	do.
Ee-a-voo-gan - -	do.	Tan-soo-pah-sah -	do.
Ah-quea-noo - -	do.	Ah-re-deh-noo - -	do.
Ah-joh-vee - -	6	Noh-de-ferey - -	do.
Que-jah - - -	do.	Ah-voh-tee-meh -	do
Hoo-doo-noo - -	do.	Gar-gar - - -	do.
Near-whey - -	5	Kar-sol-noh - -	do.
Achele - - -	4	Koo-teh-see - -	do.
A-hoch-see-boh-ee-nea	do.	Sau-gau - - -	4
Ah-soh-gnon - -	do.	Boo-peh-ah-tee-teh -	2
Ah-doo-noo-hoon-too -	do.	Teh-peh-hoong - -	do.
Ea-eh-hoo - - -	2½	Ah-hoh-peh - -	2
Toh-mah-tee - -	do.	Ah-poh-nae-peh -	3
Gan-seh - - -	do.	Ah-doo-boh-noo - -	2
Ke-koo - - -	do.	So-soo-long - -	do.
Boo-gee-loo-noo -	do.	Tee-beh-na-boh -	do.
Toh-far - - -	do.	A-poh-loh-gau - -	do.
Ah-jah-hoh - -	do.	Ah-leen-deh-noo -	do.
Ah-veh-see-peh - -	do.	Ah-goo-doo - -	do.
Boo-joh - - -	do.	Ah-ting-teh - -	do.
Boo-gee-toh-noo -	do.	Poo-gau - - -	do.
Beh-neh - - -	do.	Tok-poh - - -	do.

	Dolls.		Dolls.
Boh-sah - - -	2	Gan-joh - - -	1½
Joo-joh - - -	do.	Zaun-boo-dee - -	do.
Toh-sah-voh loo-koh -	do.	Lah-oo-bah - -	do.
A-goh-soo-toh-toh-ho-tar	do.	Hoong-jae-noo - -	do.
A-doh-mah-hoh - -	do.	Wee-ah-dah - -	do
Hoo-ah-noo - -	do.	Ah-doong-on-dee -	do.
Boh Kon - - -	do.	Hoo-pah-wa - -	do.
Boh-kar-soo-al - -	1½	Wee-an-deh - -	do.
Ah-bah-ea-hoon -	do.	Eh-kee-toh-beh-re -	do.
Boh-koh-da-dah - -	do.	Doe-mae-noo - -	do.
Ah-loh-poh - -	do.	Tah-oong - - -	do.
Koh-soo-poo-leh -	do.	Wae-soo-ma-kong -	do.
Sah-see - - -	do.	Tah-see - - -	do.
A-dong-see - -	do.	Mah-koon-doo - -	do.
Ah-hoo-loo-noh - -	do.	Pah-heh-kee-lee -	do.
Sah-peh-dog-beh -	do.	Beh-re-sar - -	do.
Sah-peh-doo-hah-hoong	do.	Soo-mah-jae - -	do.
Ho-see - - -	do.	Ah-hung-ko-see - -	do.
A-ding-see-gan - -	do.	Bossoo-peh - -	do.
Chah-kah-teh - -	do.	Tah-pah - - -	do.
Beh-koh-che-kah-teh -	do.	Wha-noo-meh - -	do.
Bah - - - -	do.	Ah-koh-gewee - -	do.
Deh-jah - - -	do.	Be-quae-see - -	do.
Jah-ah-noo - -	do.	Hoon-hah-jee - -	do.
Hoh-goron - -	do.	Ah-dah-jee - - -	do.
Yoo-loh-koo - -	do.	Ah-dang-boh-zee -	do.
Boh-deh-vee-cha-cha -	do.	Zah-kah-nee - -	do.
Kee-cheh - - -	do.	Ah-poh-mae-see -	do.
Voh-doong-boo - -	do.	Ah-boh-loo-poh-noo-gan	do.
Toh-koo-noo-veh-soo -	do.	Bah-doh-hoong - -	do.
A-jeh-voo-noo - -	do.	Ah-poh-doh - -	do.
Ah-dah-fong-koo -	do.	Ah-hoh-keh-soo -	do.
A-tee-nee-see - -	do.	Voh-joh - - -	do.
Ah-woh-teh - -	do.	Poh-hah - - -	do.
Tah-see-sar - -	do.	Ah-gae-see-veh-gnon	do.
Ah-oh-see - - -	do.	Voh-doong - -	do.

	Dolls.
Hoo-soo-koh-joh	1½
Ah-voh-lee-bee	do.
Voh-doo-noo-ah-joh-noh	do.
Wee-moe-hoh	do.
Begh-long-poh-soo	do.
Mee-bah-deh	do.
Ah-doh-neh-jeh	do.
Ah-loh-ah-noo	do.
Hoo-gaun	do.
Ah joh-bah	2
Noh-noh-voh	1½
Boh-deh-tee	do.
Beh-kon-see	do.
Jar-bah	do.
Ah-jah-kah-lee	do.
Weh-sek-pah	do.
Ah-vah-neh-noh	do.
Goo-ah-nah	do.
Fae-neh	do.
Ah-foh-jah-noo-koh	do.
Dong-hoh-soo	do.
Ah-ah-veh	do.
Ah-kee-jeh	do.
Ah-qua-jee	do.
Ah-kah-tee	do.
Dosso-lae-qae	do.
Teh-nee	do.
Doh-sar-noo	do.
Ah-jar-see	do.
Boh-deng-see	do.
So-boh-see	do.
Ah-dah-re-see	do.
At-teh-shee	do.
The cha-cha, Domingo, Ignatio, Antonio, and ourselves, were called, and received each six heads, and a glass of gin	36
Dossoo-eea-noo	2
Mr. Brown	4
Madiki Lemon	do.
Mee-koh-loh	do.
Hoo-tong-gee	2
Bah-joo-roo (Pedro)	do.
People from Dekkon	6
King's brother	do.
Ah-bah-lah	2
Co-coo-san-tee	do.
Ambassador from Ashantee	6
Ah-ma-see-peh-deh	2
Ah-gee-hah-beh	do.
Koh-sar-koo-leh-oo	do.
Go-ee-meh	do.
Dossoo-keh	do.
Ah-boh-loo-too	do.
Pelong Kelong	do.
Doh-gae-loh-gee	do.
Ah-poh-toh	do.
Bah-toh-soh	do.
Boh-ko-che-ah-peh	do.
Ah-toh	do.
Ah-doh-noo	do.
Doon-pwee	do.
Lah-peh-kol	do.
Ah-moo-soo	do.
Ee-ah-wee-nee	do.
Eemocks	3
Doh-gah-boh-soo	do.
Ah-mah-gee-peh-leh	2
Pah-nee-gan's	do.

	Dolls.		Dolls.
Camboodee - -	6	Hoong-see-noo - -	1½
15 votaries of Venus kissed the ground, and threw dirt on their heads before the king.		Mee-ah-wee-pah -	do.
		2 of Souza's sons -	5
		14 liberated Africans -	3
		14 liberated Africans -	do.
Too-noo-noo - -	4	Beh-gae-dee, king of	
Koao-peh - - -	do.	Mahee (tribute) -	do.
To-oo-poh - -	3	58 cabooceers - -	6
Zah-noo-gon - -	2	Ah-pu-loh-peh - -	3
Ah-boh-gee-veh -	do.	Do-mah-joo-loo-pae,	
Joh-me-nah-soo-veh -	do.	king of Pangweeah -	do.
Beh-dee - - -	do.	Poh-veh-soh's people -	do.
Koh-joh - - -	do.	Fool - - -	½
Leh-groo - - -	do.	Band - - -	3
Gar-jah-noo-kong -	do.	Crier - - -	2
Ah-pah-dah - -	do.	Fools - - -	do.

F.

Names of Ministers, Merchants, &c., Receivers of the Royal Bounty, June 17th, 1850.

Ee-a-voo-gan - -	10 dolls.	3 galls. of rum.
Quae-nung - -	10	3
Ah-joh-vee - -	10	3
Koh-jeh - -	10	3
Nar-whey - -	10	3
Koh-doh-noo - -	10	3

Toh-mah-tee (king's brother) - -	10 dolls.	2 galls. of rum.
Cha-cha - -	10	3
Dossoo-ee-a-voo -	5	3
Bah-hee-nee - -	3	1
Camboodee - -	10	3
King's family - -	10	3
Ah-mah-jee-peh-leh	10	0
Amazon Miegan -	10	3
Poh-veh-soh (and soldiers) - - -	6	15 strings.*
Doh-loh-quae (and soldiers) - -	3	20
Ee-gee-nee-kah -	3	10
Goo-loo-noo (and soldiers) - -	3	0
Lee-dae-noo - -	1	0
We-mah-hoo - -	3	0
Ah-koh-loo - -	2	0
Char-lah-koo - -	2	0
Meh-jah-koh-ee -	2	0
Boo-noo-mar-seh -	5	0
Koh-koh-ah-jee -	3	5
Lee-fee-lee - -	1	7
Ah-koh-boh - -	6	10
Gar-boh-tong - -	1	30
Dossoo-gar - -	0	30

* Strings of cowries, 50 strings to the dollar.

El-gae-noh-koh-quae - -	5 dolls.	20 strings.
Bah-veh-noo-soo - -	10	15
Bah-moh-heh - - -	3	5
Eh-noh-gar - - -	0	25
Ten hunchbacks - -	0	30
Ahoh-que - - -	0	5
Char-he-lah-feh-lee - -	2	20
Ah-hoh-dog-bee - -	2	0
Ee-a-see - - - -	2	0
Ah-dah-foh-soh - - -	1	10
Ah-hoh-peh - - -	4	0
Ee-a-voo-gan, for fetish -	20	0
Tehnee-sar, for fetish at Abomey - - -	13	30
King's brothers and sisters, for fetish customs - -	66	0
Mayo, for fetish at Cannah -	30	0
Band - - - -	10	0
Colonels and officers of his majesty's regiment - -	20	0
Band - - - -	2	45

THE END.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
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EXL 2929

Forbes, Frederick
Dahomey and the Dahomans
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